

THE IRISH TANGLE  
AND  
A WAY OUT



THOMAS COSTELLO JOHNSON



Class 1

Book 12

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AND  
A WAY OUT



THOMAS COSTELLO JOHNSON

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TO  
MY FRIENDS ON BOTH SIDES  
OF THE ATLANTIC AND  
ALL WELL-WISHERS  
OF IRELAND



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## INTRODUCTORY

Reasons for writing.—A talk in the South, which led to others elsewhere.—A word from the late Colonel Roosevelt.



HORTLY before leaving Ireland, where I had spent several months, chiefly in going throughout the land telling the people of America's part in the great war, a friend suggested that, considering I had traveled in all quarters of the country and had met leading men in almost every walk of life, of all kinds of political affiliation and religious belief, as far apart as the Lord Mayor of Belfast and the Lord Mayor of Cork, and the Archbishop of Dublin and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, and had heard their views and aspirations, man to man, my impressions of Ireland and the War should be put in print and placed on the market. The suggestion took me by surprise, as the idea of writing on so fascinating a subject had never occurred to my mind; but, after some consideration, I decided to accede to my friend's request, in the hope that my effort may help Ireland toward her destiny, and also help some people to a better understanding of Ireland.

It may not be amiss to state here that, my visit to Ireland was not the outcome of a desire for a holiday in foreign parts during the war. Every loyal Ameri-

can abstained, as far as possible, from holiday-making during the time the country was bending her efforts toward bringing the war to a speedy and successful end. In view of the public lectures that I gave, to gatherings as small as sixty and as large as five thousand, some of which were generously reported in the Irish newspapers, and some in the English newspapers also, it may not be amiss to state that I did not go to Ireland as a propagandist, nor had I official relations with either the American or the British Government. Personal reasons, which would be of no interest to the reader, were entirely responsible; and I shall always feel grateful to all my friends who helped to make the way easy for me, and to the good people of Ireland for their kindly welcome and unfailing courtesy during my stay among them.

After deciding to go to Ireland, I thought it would be well to take over some views on war preparation in America, to be used when telling my friends here and there in Ireland of America's part in the War. Through the kindness of the Reverend George B. Fairbrother, M.A., Rector of Schull, a lecture was given in that town soon after my arrival in Ireland, which was listened to with great attention by a large gathering of people of various political leanings. This meeting led to others in different parts of the country; and, no matter where I spoke in public, the people showed a deep interest in what I told them and voiced their approval unmistakably. In the ap-

pendix will be found accounts of several meetings, as they appeared in the daily press. I add, at this point, a letter that was sent to me in Ireland by a man who was much interested in Ireland's welfare and whom I had the honor of knowing personally, our great American, the late Theodore Roosevelt. This letter was read at many meetings, and appeared in several newspapers in Ireland and England:

“New York, April 12, 1918.

MY DEAR DR. JOHNSON:

I trust that you will have a most useful as well as a most pleasant trip in Ireland. There is an old and long standing friendship between the people of Ireland and the people of the United States. I hope you will set before them the fact that the United States has entered this war, partly of course because of intolerable grievances of our own against Germany, but also as part of the great fight for justice and liberty against the most brutal militaristic despotism of modern times. America entered the war very late and I sincerely wish that she had undertaken her task two years before she did. But our people are now waked up and are beginning to bend with efficiency their enormous energy and power to the task before them: and they will never give in. I hope you will say to the people of Ireland whom you may

meet, that America's one desire is for peace and for a good understanding between nations and for securing the right of every well-behaved people, great or small, to live unmolested by others, so long as it does not molest others; and the test of our friendship in the future for any nation should be that nation's attitude in this war.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Rev. THOMAS C. JOHNSON,  
Church of the Holy Spirit,  
Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, N. Y."

## CHAPTER I

## FROM NEW YORK TO IRELAND IN WAR-TIME

Distinguished passengers.—Life on board ship.—Army officers and men.—A submarine scare.—At Liverpool.—War-marks, and the British spirit.—Holyhead to Dublin.—England and Ireland.—A contrast.



ANY distinguished people were on board the *S.S. Cedric*, Captain Carter, on which the writer traveled, including about one hundred officers and three thousand men of the United States Army, the Archbishop of York and his chaplain, Sir Ernest Shackleton, an English Labor Commission—comprising Charles Duncan, M.P., and Messrs. Appleton, Mosses and Butterworth—who made life on board so pleasant and interesting that the thirteen days occupied in the voyage passed by quickly. Precaution and vigilance obtained all the way. Before leaving port the military left the promenade decks, and remained inside until the ship had got well out to sea. After sunset all port holes were closed and remained so until sunrise. Lights were not visible from the outside; and a large guard was constantly on duty.

The usual ship-games were played during the day, and at night those on board were treated frequently to a concert or lecture. In the Regiment and the

Machine Gun Company were many able musicians, who generously contributed of their talents and time to various concerts and entertainments. The Archbishop of York, who had done so much during his all-too-short tour of America, toward strengthening the bond of unity between the British Empire and America, gave a very impressive lecture on the war, the part that America would have an opportunity to take, and the importance of the standards which those who were then going to France should set for their fellows who were to come later. On Sunday his Grace preached on the text, "Keep that which is committed to thy trust," to a large gathering of men who crowded round to hear his helpful words of encouragement and advice. His Grace, who was very popular among the passengers, seemed highly pleased with the speed and determination with which America was preparing to render further assistance in the war; but he felt somewhat perturbed that he should have to remain so long on board ship without any information from the front, at a time when "the destinies of the Empire were in the balance." A lecture was given by Sir Ernest Shackleton on his Trans-Antarctic Expedition of 1914-1916, in connection with which he showed a book of photographs illustrating various incidents of the undertaking. The lecturer was loud in his praise of the men who had accompanied him, many of whom were Irish, and paid special tribute to their unswerving loyalty and dauntless courage. He also told how he had offered his ship and men to the

Government at the outbreak of the war, and of their declination of his offer, preferring that he should go on with the expedition.

The two colonels in charge of the Regiment and the Gun Company, the other officers, and the men under their command were of the finest calibre, of whom America had every reason to be proud. During the day the officers had schools of instruction in military tactics and strategy, and all seemed anxious to become more proficient and to improve the time afforded by the voyage. The Regimental Colonel showed decided interest in the welfare of his men, and paid daily visits to all parts of the ship to see that they were as comfortably cared for as possible. Needless to say that he was fully appreciated by those under him; and that he held the confidence, respect and affection of all. The Colonel in charge of the Gun Company was extremely popular with his men, a teacher and leader of the first order, whose face and bearing were an index to his sterling character. No wonder that the American soldier loves his leaders and is willing to do anything for them, when they are made of such material. The Medical Officers, too, were men who never spared themselves throughout the voyage. Medical inspection took place every day; but this did not end the work of those consecrated gentlemen, who were always on duty, and took a much deeper interest in the men's welfare than that which is called "official."

Boat drill was an everyday occurrence. When the

whistle blew, officers, men and civilians marched to their boat stations, each one with his life preserver ready to man his allotted boat or raft. Throughout the voyage life preservers were worn; and while it took a few days to get accustomed to these awkward safeguards, yet, before the end of the trip they were easily carried and seemed to cause little discomfort. The twelve ships in the convoy, which carried thirty thousand troops, were carefully escorted. In the submarine zone British destroyers did splendid work, dashing hither and thither and thoroughly scouring a vast area as the ships moved along. The results of destruction wrought by submarines appeared on the ocean as we neared our destination; and on one occasion a submarine caused some excitement among those in the convoy. Two destroyers went to investigate, and in due time returned with a reassuring report. Apart from this affair the journey was rather uneventful; and, as the weather was good, only slight inconvenience was experienced by the rather lengthy crossing.

Liverpool was reached on Sunday morning, April 28th. The first sight that the writer beheld was an American ambulance, and the second sight was a German ship in Allied war paint flying the American flag. This ship had brought a large number of American troops over, and was preparing to return and continue in that useful service. The American ambulance, and the German ship as an American transport, impressed on all the fact already known, that

America was going on with the business of the war in a thorough-going fashion. The men disembarked, and the civilians made the acquaintance of the British Immigration Authorities—who were most courteous in their duties—and passed on to the Custom House Officials, who did their part in record time.

In Liverpool the writer had twelve hours to wait for a train to Holyhead, from which port the Kings-town boat sailed. In those twelve hours he secured a great deal of enlightenment on the war and its effects. The streets were filled with wounded and disabled soldiers, and any men on the streets, not wearing service or hospital uniforms, were obviously too old for military service or else wore the “honorably discharged” badge. The whole atmosphere was sombre; and all, men and women alike, showed unmistakable signs of a long strain and a severe regimen. A soldier passed by wearing a new kind of badge, and, upon inquiring its meaning the writer was informed that he was one of England’s “Contemptibles”—one of those noble fellows who rushed to service at the opening of the war—whom the German Emperor characterized as “Contemptible.” He should rather have called that army, if he had had any prophetic vision, “Immortal,” for they have surely won that title by their patriotism, courage, and self-sacrifice. They, truly, “saved the day.” The shops of course were closed; but the windows displayed large signs of “Controlled” goods—and they were “Controlled.” In one of the large hotels where he

went for luncheon, the writer was requested to produce his meat card, his sugar card, and his butter card, of which he knew nothing. A luncheon without these luxuries was however served, and while making the acquaintance of the "war bread," different from anything previously seen or imagined, the advice often given by the diligent steward, Mac, on board ship occurred to his mind. As the good steward served the hot rolls daily he was wont to remark, "eat plenty of these now, for you won't see white bread again until you make the return journey." Mac was right; even in Ireland real old-time white bread was not offered in the hotel fare. Those hours spent in Liverpool revealed what war really meant; and the writer felt impressed with the hardships and sorrows which it entailed. It is all right to talk of war from afar, to read in the news of the deaths and other casualties, to note the restrictions in living and to feel for the sufferers; but it is quite a different thing to feel the oppressive atmosphere of war, to see its deadly ravages and disabling results, to become amenable to its restrictions, and to listen to the words of the bereaved. In America, although nearly all thought that they were carrying a great part of the burden of the war in every sense, in reality they knew little about it, nor did they experience the anguish and realize its meaning until their own men had paid the great price, and the casualty lists had appeared, and the ships had brought home to their shores the sick and the disabled. "The British Empire and the

Allies," as the Archbishop of York put it in his sermon on board ship, "had been fighting for their existence for four years, and they were tired." They were tired, but not discouraged; they were suffering, but not desirous of ceasing until they could proclaim victory to the world. Among all the returned troops from the front, the wounded and the disabled, as well as the whole, with whom the writer talked in England and Ireland, he never met one who did not desire to return, and give his life if necessary for the cause of freedom. In traveling from Belfast to Enniskillen one day he met a soldier who had been wounded five times. Three times he had been on leave in order to recuperate, and three times he had returned to the front. The last leave, as the result of a very badly crushed foot, was to him a great strain, because the doctor had informed him that his return to France was not probable. "I'm drawing a good pension," said he, "but I'd give it all for another day in the trenches. It isn't fair treatment, to keep me here."

The journey from Liverpool to Holyhead and Kingstown was made without any particular incident, although the four hours spent crossing the Irish Sea were rather anxious ones, and as the night was bright and fine, most of those on board remained on deck holding or wearing life preservers. Some passengers, who had experienced the working of the drastic food laws in England, were surprised to find such a wonderful display of meats and food as appeared in the dining-room of the mail boat and lost no time in

ordering whatever they desired, for food cards were not necessary there.

As soon as Ireland was reached, it was evident that the country was not affected by the war in the same way that England was. In Ireland, men were to be seen everywhere; strong, young, able-bodied men—the very opposite was true of England. In Ireland, food was plentiful, everything offered for sale as heretofore—except sugar, which could not be secured in large quantities, as each one was supposed to have only half-a-pound per week. In Ireland the people showed every sign of prosperity; in England the people seemed impoverished. In Ireland the fairs, races, market days, cattle shows and horse shows were kept; in England there was none of that. It is true, as appears elsewhere, that many in Ireland kept the meatless days and the wheatless days with England, and abstained from pleasure-making, and worked hard for the success of the war; but a vast majority seemed to have little interest in the war beyond buying and selling, and the prosperity it brought them. Judging from exterior conditions, and forgetting the war for a moment, it seemed as if England and Ireland had exchanged conditions. The Ireland of by-gone years was certainly a pitiful sight; hungry, cold and naked, with little hope for better days, and struggling against most discouraging forces. The houses, were, generally speaking, of the poorest order, the lands were uncultivated for the most part, and uncared for, the cattle and horses were of inferior

breeds, the schools were few and far between, and the landlords were very punctilious in exacting the pound of flesh. The Ireland of 1918 presented a very different appearance; a greater change in the external conditions of any people has never taken place within thirty years. The people were well fed, well clothed, and well housed. They seemed self-satisfied and prosperous, and many of them were making large sums of money as a result of the war. Their farms were very productive and well-cared for, their cattle were of the best breeds, and their houses which were generally slated were comfortable and suitably furnished. Labor was well paid, though hard to secure; and many farmers had recently become owners of the land for which they had paid annual rent in by-gone years. Instead of using the old-time means of conveyance, the average farmer usually drove to town in a pony trap or carriage of some sort. Yes, Ireland appeared exceedingly prosperous: and what wonder if, within the next year or two, the stream of immigration shall be turned in that direction. No longer can the aged laborer say in excuse for his poverty in Ireland, as one stated to the writer some years ago when asking assistance, "I've spent all my time working my life out to keep my life in." Prosperity is not peculiar to any particular part of Ireland to-day, but characterizes the whole land—North, South, East and West.

## CHAPTER II

## EARLY EVENTS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE

Ireland invaded.—Folk-lore, legend, and authentic history.—Troubles at home.—Finn MacCool.—Saint Patrick, and other Saints and Missionaries.—Art and literature.—Classes of society.—The Brehon Law.—The Danish invasion.—Malacki and Brian.—Internal strife.—Roderick O'Connor, Supreme King.



HE account of a conversation between two Irishmen in New York, seems to have a decided moral when applied to Ireland. The elder brother, who had been in America less than one year, when asked by the younger who had just arrived from the old sod, "Pat, how do you like this country of yours?" replied, "Well, this is a fine country, and it would be a lot better but for them foreigners!" Would it? Pat forgot that the foreigners had for many years been the mainstay of his adopted land, and that his old country had done much toward making the greatest democracy of the world what it is to-day. America is a land of foreigners, invaders, immigrants; and in this respect at least strongly resembles Ireland.

Foreigners have made America what it is, a nation gathered from all nations in the world; and who dare controvert that, foreigners have made Ireland what

it is. We know something of the ancient people of America, some of whose descendants are very much in evidence even in our own time; but of the ancient people of Ireland, if there were any, before the days of invasion or immigration we know nothing. We do know, however, that, from earliest accounts, Ireland has been an attractive land to many nations, and that expedition after expedition has arrived at her shores set upon no better intent than to invade, to plunder, and to conquer. Some of those early invaders and their descendants no doubt survived the oppression and tyranny of those who came after them as invaders, and through intermarriage with them became an integral part of the composite body known as the Irish. If the history of the Roman Empire has been characterized by a celebrated historian as that of a "Decline and Fall," surely it will not seem amiss to those who are at all familiar with the vicissitudes of Irish history to describe it as the history of "Foreign Invasion and Internal Strife."

Like most ancient nations, Ireland has an abundance of folk-lore, folk songs and annals which keep alive the ancient traditions and recall the great achievements of the past. From these an insight may be had into the early life and customs of a people who are so different from all others, and by these an understanding and appreciation may be obtained of the characteristics usually evidenced in the Irish people.

Legend states that in very ancient times Ireland

was invaded or colonized, in rather rapid succession, by no less than five peoples. Parthalon of Greece led one thousand men thither, but at the end of three hundred years a plague set in that almost wiped out their descendants. Nemid of Scythia also came, and he too, and many of his followers, died of plague. Next came the Firbolgs, under the guidance of the sons of Dela, who divided the country into five parts—Ulster, Leinster, Connaught and the two Munsters. The Dedannans, who came next, decided to stay, and so burned their ships. No sooner had they landed than they set out to conquer the Firbolgs, who, like themselves, had come from Greece, and at the end of a four days' fight won a victory for which in later ages they were deified—and became the Shee or fairies so often mentioned in Irish story and song. The Milesians came from Scythia, and, after spending some time in Egypt and Europe, set sail from Spain; but their fleet suffered great loss as the result of violent storms off the Irish coast. A small number survived who gave battle to the Dedannans, and after securing victory their leaders divided Ireland into three parts among themselves.

We come next to a period which brings in what the Annals of Tigernack O'Breen state to be the beginning of authentic Irish history. The queen of the king of Ulster, three hundred years before Christ, built the palace of Emain, which for six hundred years remained the residence of the kings of Ulster. The place where this palace was built is now called

Navan Fort, two miles west of Armagh. Croghan Fort, in Roscommon, which also antedates Christianity, was built as a residence of the kings of Connaught. The discord in the different parts of Ireland soon became very great, and the leaders of the Milesians had no small trouble in keeping the descendants of those whom they had overcome in subjection. Tuathal, who ruled toward the end of the first century, believed that he had found a cure for all trouble and disaffection among the people, when he suggested a monarch for all Ireland, and proceeded to put his cure into effect by cutting a little off from each of the existing Provinces and creating from these parts a new Province, the Province of Meath, which should become the estate of the Supreme King of Ireland. It was a grand idea; but the people even in those days would not stay "put," and very soon Ireland was divided into two parts. A natural line of sandhills, from Dublin across to Galway, was decided on as the neutral ground between Conn, the king of the Northern part, and Mow, the king of the Southern part.

Cormac, the grandson of Conn, king of Northern Ireland, founded colleges for military science, history, literature and law. In his time the Feena, or Volunteers as we would call them today, came into prominence, and were commanded by the famous Finn MacCool, son-in-law of Cormac. The great deeds of Finn, as well as other Bardic Romances, are set forth by T. W. Rolleston, in his book—The High Deeds of Finn. The Feena rebelled in the next reign,

but were defeated ignominiously. Much is written of the Niall or Neill family from the end of the fourth century onward in Irish history. The Scots of Ireland and their neighbors, the Picts of Scotland, whether from natural propensity or desire for plunder, were often in those days found on marauding expeditions to Britain and Gaul, and were greatly feared by the natives of those lands. The leader of the most daring of these invasions was Niall, who, among a number of other captives, brought St. Patrick to Ireland. Niall, however, was killed while on one of those famous invasions on the banks of the river Loire; but his successor—Dathi—the last king of pagan Ireland, carried on the invasion of foreign lands and was eventually killed by lightning near the Alps.

The life of Saint Patrick is generally supposed to have influenced the religious bent of the people of Ireland only, but in reality his influence as a missionary has had a great effect in furthering the cause of Christianity in almost every country. Born about the year 387 of Christian parents, and reared until he attained the age of sixteen in religious surroundings, the future patron Saint of Ireland was brought a captive to Dalriada, now County Antrim, where he spent seven years as a bond servant. After escaping from captivity, he visited Southern Gaul, came under the influence of St. Martin of Tours, and studied at Auxerre and Lerins. About the year 432—having spent twenty years preparing for his work, and after

ordination to the Diaconate—he set his face with twelve companions for Ireland's shore, to carry on the work which his predecessor, Palladius, who had been sent to Ireland by Pope Celestine, had relinquished.

It is generally believed that the religion of the Druids had been long taught and practised in Ireland, before the dawn of Christianity; and to this day huge stone altars are pointed out in different parts of the country on which the Druids offered their sacrifices. Caesar stated that, "The Druids act in all sacred matters; they attend to the sacrifices which are offered either by the tribe in general or by individuals, and answer all questions concerning religion; they decide in all controversies, whether public or private, and they judge all cases. They assign both rewards and punishments, and whoever refuses to abide by their sentence is excommunicated. They are exempt from service in war, and from the payment of taxes; they have also many other immunities." In their secret teaching, they taught belief in one God, but the popular teaching included a number of gods, and that the rivers, lakes, trees, mountains had their own divinities. They taught the immortality of the soul; and their sacrifices on extraordinary occasions included human beings. Where this religion originated we do not know, but some suppose that it came from India.

In Ireland when Saint Patrick took up his work, which extended over thirty-three years, Christianity

was known to the people. How it was brought there, whether by Apostles, prisoners, marauders or soldiers, we have no definite information; but one thing is certain, gatherings of Christians had been established there before Saint Patrick's time. Among the people of Ireland Saint Patrick moved freely, preaching, teaching, and establishing churches and schools of instruction. His ministry was phenomenally successful; and the celerity of his success may be accounted for in part that he appealed first to the kings, chiefs, and nobles. Wherever he appeared the people crowded around to hear his words; and while his journeyings were not always pleasant nor his words productive of the results he sought, yet his career as a missionary left a stamp on Ireland that never can be effaced, a stamp that has caused the country to be characterized and thought of as "A country of saints and scholars." Of course, the work of Saint Patrick did not reach to every part of the field of his labors; but most of the country testified to his zeal and success through converts, missionaries and churches, when on the 17th of March, 465, he departed this life. His death brought forth the deepest sorrow among the people, who, after keeping his obsequies for twelve days and nights, with loving care laid his body to rest at Dun-da-leth-glas, the ancient residence of the Princess Ulidia, now known as Downpatrick.

After the death of Saint Patrick the work to which he had given his life went on apace, and churches,

monasteries and convents were soon to be found throughout Ireland. Saint Bridget of Kildare, born about 455, became an ardent missionary early in life. Before her twenty-fifth year she had founded convents in many parts of Ireland; and, eventually, she built her cell, the beginning of a famous nunnery, under a great oak tree from which the ancient Cathedral of Kildare received its name—Kill-dare, the church of the oak.

Columba, the third of Ireland's Patron Saints, was born in 521 of a noble family near the mountains of Donegal, and at an early age was sent to the monastic school of Saint Finian of Clonard, where he evinced marked ability as a scholar; and after his ordination, he gave himself up heart and soul to the work of the church. In the year 546 he built Derry Monastery, and later founded numerous churches and monasteries throughout the country—including Kells, Swords, and Durrow in King's County. About the year 563—ninety-eight years after the death of Saint Patrick—he went on a mission to Iona, off the west coast of Scotland, where he founded the famous monastery of that name. It might be well to state here, parenthetically, that about sixty years before a chieftain of the house of Erc, of the Irish Dalriado, had crossed over to the coast of Argylesline and founded the kingdom of Dalriada or Scotia there; and thus the name Scotia or Scotland, which until the year 1,000 belonged to Ireland, was first applied to Scotland and gradually appropriated by the people of

that land. Among the Picts, as among the Irish, Saint Columba's ministry was most successful, and at the close of his mission, which extended from sea to sea, many churches were to be seen testifying to his abundant labors. It is, however, in connection with the monastery at Iona, the influence of which has penetrated into all the world, that this saint is chiefly thought of. The rules of this monastery required obedience, humility, and chastity; and the day was spent in devotions, reading, writing and manual labor. The members of the house were expert writers and illuminators, and at this time the Irish had become famous in calligraphy. It is stated that Saint Columba wrote the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, so well known for their beautiful penmanship and artistic ornamentation. From Iona missionaries went to the English, the Germans, the French, the Italians, and the Swiss, evangelizing and planting monasteries and churches in all parts. Irishmen became not only patron saints in their own land, but also in almost every part of the Continent. Saint Aidan of Northumbria, Saint Fursa of Peronne, Saint Dymphna of Gheel, Saint Columbanus of Bibbio, Saint Gall, of the town called by his name, Saint Virgil of Salisbury, Saint Fridolin of Seckingen, Saint Kilian of Francolia are names, revered and honored, that bear testimony to the wide scope and influence of Irish missionary effort. To the schools in Ireland, which were accounted the most learned among the people of Europe, came kings, princes and others

from Northumbria, France, Britain, Germany and Egypt. Mr. Lecky did not overstate the matter when he wrote that, "England owed a great deal of her Christianity to Irish monks," for the record of the Council of Whitby, held in 664, when the two branches of the Church, the Celtic and the Roman, each with its different customs, but holding a common faith and order, met and squared their differences, is abiding testimony to the labor and success of Irish missionaries in England.

Everywhere the Irish missionaries went they established schools in which were taught various kinds of art, including metal work, sculpture, penmanship, and building—in which Ireland led. The ancient art of adorning all kinds of metal was carried on and improved upon up to the time of the Norman invasion. Three wonderful specimens of the excellence of that workmanship are the Cross of Cong, the Ardagh Chalice, and the Tara Brooch, to be seen in the National Museum, Dublin. The art of penmanship and ornamentation brought to the highest standard, may be seen in the work of the Book of Kells—so called because it had been in the keeping of Kells for many centuries. Although one capital letter covers almost an entire page, yet a magnifying glass is necessary to follow the delicate intricacies of the pattern. The Book of Armagh, another piece of work beautifully executed, is, together with the Book of Kells, in Trinity College, Dublin. It is chiefly written in Latin, and contains a life of Saint Patrick, the New

Testament, Saint Patrick's Confession, and an entry made by King Brian Boru in 1004, when he visited Armagh, confirming the primacy of the See of Armagh.

The Round Towers of Ireland date from pre-Christian times and have a beauty all their own. The quadrangular churches built of wood and also of stone, date from the time of Saint Patrick. With the coming of the Normans, new ideas in building were introduced, and the Irish lost no time in appropriating the best designs. Ruins of abbeys throughout Ireland today testify to the great ability and skill of those who erected these beautiful buildings. Many of the Celtic crosses that remain intact are beautifully ornamented, and some depict events recorded in sacred history.

From the time of Saint Patrick, the Irish people wrote everything concerning their history and time—that appeared to them of importance. These records were often kept in monasteries and other places of learning, and must have amounted to a large and valuable collection before the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions, when many of these valuable writings were either destroyed or carried out of the country. In the museums and libraries of London and Oxford, as well as in Dublin, may be found some of them. The Royal Irish Academy has the oldest of these writings, the *Lebar-na-heera*, which contains a number of prose tales, and an elegy on Saint Columkille, composed by Dallan Fogail about 592. The

Book of Leinster, written in 1160, is in Trinity College, and contains one thousand items of prose, poetry and historical accounts. Other interesting books in Ireland are the Book of Ballymote, written in 1391, in which, among other things, is a copy of the book of "Invasions" of Ireland; the Book of Lecan, written at Lecan, County Sligo, about 1390, is also in the keeping of Trinity College.

The annals, histories and genealogies of Ireland are extremely interesting. Among the annals may be recorded the Annals of Innisfallen, compiled about 1215; the Annals of Ulster, compiled 1498; the Annals of Connaught, compiled in 1224; Chronicle of the Scots, compiled in 1135, and the Annals of the Four Masters, compiled in 1132. The first history of Ireland was written in the seventeenth century as the *Forus Feasa Erin*, by Dr. Geoffrey Keating. Many of the genealogies of the principal families in Ireland are preserved in the books of Leinster, Lecan, and Ballymote. A book of genealogies was compiled between 1650 and 1666 by Duard MacFirbis.

The people of Ireland have ever been noted for their fondness of music. From monastery and convent, from school and college, from the humblest home as well as from the king's residence, the strains of music went forth in every age. Giraldus Cambrensis bore testimony to the harper's skill in these words: "They are incomparably more skillful than any other nation I have ever seen. For their manner of playing on these instruments, unlike that of the

Britons to which I am accustomed is not slow and harsh, but lively and rapid, while the melody is both sweet and sprightly." In foreign lands Irish music teachers were often found; and the fame of Saint Gall's, as a conservatory of music in the ninth century, was due to the able teaching of the Irishman Marcellus.

From the earliest times the inhabitants of Ireland were divided into five classes—kings, nobles, free-men with property, freemen without property, and the others, who were again divided into various sections. The first group included the family proper; the next group, the Sept, which included relatives; the next group, the Clan, included those who were descended from one ancestor; and the other group, the Tribe, included those of separate Clans or Septs. These were governed by chiefs. Then there came sub-kingdoms, then there were the five provinces, ruled by five kings, and finally one kingdom, ruled by the Ardi or supreme king.

Ireland, so well organized, was not without her law and judges. The judges were called Brehons and the law the Brehon Law. These judges were learned men, and took great pains to administer their office faithfully. If a Brehon delivered an unfair judgment he was open to punishment, and for this reason, also, he was usually anxious to give fair and impartial judgments. The laws by which judgment was meted out were preserved in volumes. Two of these volumes are of special interest: the *Senchus Mor*,

covering civil law, and the Book of Acaill, covering criminal law and personal injuries. Through the interest of Saint Patrick, King Laeghaire had a committee of nine distinguished persons revise the laws of Ireland.

From the beginning of the Danish invasion early in the ninth century until the famous battle of Clontarf on Good Friday, April 23, 1014, the whole of Ireland was in a constant state of turmoil and war—with only two exceptions of forty-year periods. Naturally, the high state of civilization and order hitherto reached suffered greatly, and the whole island became, in the language of the Four Masters, “a trembling sod.” The monasteries, convents, schools, colleges and churches, as well as the petty kingdoms fell from the high state of efficiency which they had attained; and through plunder, disorder and strife lost much of their ancient heritage.

The Danes, a name generally accorded to the people of the northwestern districts of Europe, first appeared along the eastern coast of Ireland as plunderers, but after some expeditions of this kind came in larger bodies, with the intention of staying, and so reached farther into the country, plundering and destroying everything that came in their way. Under their leader, Turgesius, they organized a fleet and went northward, entering Lough Neagh and Lough Ree, and eventually occupied Armagh, Leinster and Connaught.

The Irish failure in dealing with these, in quick

time and definitely, was due in a large measure to their characteristic difficulty—lack of unity and effort—and, although the Irish chiefs and others made sporadic attempts to curtail the movements and power of these enemies, little success attended them. Malacki I. and his son arrested the course of that foreign invasion for forty years; but during this period the Irish turned their attention and strength to wars among themselves. Neill Glunduff, Flann's successor, Donagh Flann's son, and Murkertagh, son of Neill Glunduff—of Leathercoat fame—harassed the Danes from time to time; but Malacki II, who became king in 980, won the greatest victory over them at Tara and Dublin and carried off some valuable Danish treasure. It was of him that Moore wrote, "When Malacki wore the collar of gold that he won from her proud invader." Mahon, king of Thomond, and his brother Brian carried on a guerrilla warfare against the invaders. By way of reprisal, Ivar, king of the Southern Danes, aided by two Irish kings, Molloy of Desmond and Donovan of Hy Carbery, marched on Thomond, but the Dalcaessian chiefs and Mahon soon overcame them. In another war of this kind Mahon was slain, and his brother Brian became king in his stead. Brian now waged a war of retribution, and after destroying the allied enemy, referred to above, became king of all Munster.

Brian's success in overcoming his enemies and extending his territory and sway soon aroused the jealousy of the King of Ireland, Malacki, and after a

peace agreement, which entailed the dividing of Ireland between them, Malacki became king of Leth Conn, and Brian king of Leth Mow. After a revolt of Mailmora, king of Leinster, and his subsequent defeat, Brian decided to treat the solemn agreement with Malacki as a “scrap of paper,” and began to make an alliance with the old enemy in order to make sure of his success. His matrimonial alliances must be interesting to men today—in view of later history. He married Gormlaith, mother of Sitric, king of the Dublin Danes, sister of the king of Leinster, and gave his own daughter to Sitric as his wife. Malacki’s land was soon invaded; he made peace, and returned to his old kingdom Meath, after which the land had comparative peace for forty years.

The Danes, however, were not satisfied and were watching for an opportunity to assert themselves and gain if possible the sovereignty of Ireland. At length the chance came, when Malimora, king of Leinster, decided to be avenged of Brian, who had recently discarded his sister Gormlaith, and brought together as allies O’Neill, king of Ulster, O’Ruarc, prince of Brefney, and leaders from Carbery, Kildare. These first attacked Malacki, who was not able to resist them, and he called Brian to help him. Brian and his son responded, and moved to Kilmainham to besiege Dublin, but the effort failed.

The Danes now decided to push the test; and Gormlaith directed her son Sitric to look for aid abroad. He visited the Orkneys and the Isle of Man and re-

ceived the aid he required; and from the Hebrides, Shetlands, France, Germany and Scandinavia sailed shiploads of warriors for Dublin Bay. Brian, mustering his forces on March 17th and moving to Kilmainham, set fire to the Danish districts along the coast. News that the enemy intended to attack on Good Friday was very unsavory to Brian, owing to the holy associations attaching to the day, yet he got his men together, who numbered about twenty thousand—as many as the enemy had in line—and the battle was begun. The fight was a hand-to-hand affair and lasted all day, during which Brian's son Murrogh was chief in command and remained in the thick of the battle with his men. Toward evening the Danes saw that they had lost, and ran from the battle pursued by the Irish, and greatly helped by Malacki's men, who cut off their retreat. The Irish won the battle, which cost them many lives, especially those of King Brian, his son Murrogh and his son Turlogh. After that day of victory and sorrow, Malacki became the unquestioned king of the Irish—which position he held until his death in 1022.

After the battle of Clontarf and the victory over the foreign foe, the Irish were once more in a position to carry on war among themselves; and from this time to the Anglo-Norman invasion the country was in a state of disorder owing to the aspirations of different kings to become the supreme rulers of Ireland. The long drawn out struggle of the kings, "with opposition," Donogh, Turlogh O'Brien, Demot Mac-

Mailnamo, Murkertagh O'Brien, Donall O'Loghlin, Turlogh O'Connor, Murkertagh O'Loghlin and Roderick O'Connor, was at length brought to a close when O'Connor acknowledged O'Loghlin's supremacy and sent him hostages. O'Loghlin soon died, however, and Roderick O'Connor became the king of all Ireland.

## CHAPTER III

### LATER INVASION AND REBELLION

Dermot MacMurragh and his Foreign Allies.—Archbishop O'Toole, the peacemaker.—Henry II. distributes Ireland among his followers.—King Richard.—King John and the Irish factions.—The "English Pale."—The Bruses in Ireland.—"Statute of Kilkenny."—Richard II. tries to stop rebellion.—Parliament, 1449, and 1466.—The Imposter Simnel and German aid.—"Poyning's Law."—Policy of Henry VIII.—Edward VI.—Mary and Elizabeth.—The Geraldine Rebellion.—Foreign expeditions.—Desmond de-spoiled.—Rebellion under Hugh O'Neill, assisted by Spain.—Lord Mountjoy's Victory.—The Plantation of Ulster.—Charles I. and Wentworth.—The Rebellion of 1641.—Royalist Ireland and Cromwell.—James II. and William of Orange.—Repeal of all offensive laws by James.—James defeated at Old Bridge.—Repressive Laws.—Laws injurious to Irish trade.

HE Danish invasion left Ireland in a state of disorder and ruin; and when the Normans came little was attempted toward a real restoration, although that was supposedly the cause of the projected crusade when Henry II. secured the famous Bull of authority from Pope Hadrian IV. in 1155. In those days it was thought by many that all islands belonged to the jurisdiction of the Pope; and, in view of this, Henry forwarded a plea to Pope Hadrian for authority to go to Ireland "to enlarge the bounds of the Church, and to restrain the progress of vices, to correct the manners of the people and to plant virtue

among them, and to increase the Christian religion. To subject the people to laws, to extirpate vicious customs, to respect the rights of the native churches, and to enforce the payment of Peter's pence." This request was approved by the Pope, as coming from one moved by "the ardour of faith and love of religion;" but Henry, however, did not carry out his projected crusade for some time. After the lapse of a few years, the occasion for active interest presented itself when Dermot MacMurragh, who had stolen the wife of the prince of Brefney, Tiernan O'Rourc, and had consequently brought O'Rourc and a large motley army to fight against him in Leinster, crossed the sea for aid, and offered to place himself and his kingdom under Henry's rule. To this proposition Henry agreed, and advised Dermot to go through England and France for supporters. In Bristol, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, later known as Strongbow, agreed to be one of the supporters provided Dermot gave him his daughter Eva in marriage, and that he should succeed him as king. In Saint Davids, Wales, Maurace Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen promised assistance—receiving in due time Wexford and the adjoining districts as a consideration. With a large allied force Dermot attacked at Wexford, Waterford and Ossory, and thus aroused the interest of Roderick O'Connor to activity in defence of his territory. A peace conference took place, and a secret treaty was made between Dermot and Roderick to the effect that the foreigners should be sent home, and none brought

in the future. As the agreement between Brian and Malacki was treated as a "scrap of paper," so was this, alas, for Dermot set out almost immediately to become the king of Ireland, and sent to Strongbow to fulfil his promise. Strongbow sent Raymond Fitzgerald—Raymond le Gros—with eight hundred men and came himself later with three thousand to Waterford, where havoc characterized their work. They then marched to Dublin, where king Hasculf had rebelled. Through Archbishop Laurence O'Toole peace was arranged, and Hasculf and many of his men fled the country leaving Dermot and Strongbow in possession. In the next year, 1171, Dermot died, and Strongbow became king of Leinster. Hasculf MacTurkill returned, and with a great many Danes besieged Dublin; but he was defeated. After this Archbishop O'Toole tried to unite the people of Ireland against their enemies, who had again entrenched themselves in Dublin. At this juncture Henry, who had become jealous of Strongbow, came to Ireland with ten thousand men, and the Irish kings, with few exceptions, hastened to submit to him, as did most of the princes. Roderick O'Connor also submitted, although he did not appear: but O'Neill of Ulster neither came nor sent his submission.

Henry, after holding court in Dublin, began to distribute Ireland to his followers. Leinster was given to Strongbow, Meath to Hugh de Lacy, Ulster to John de Courcy, and Dublin to the people of Bristol, with de Lacy as governor—the first Viceroy of

Ireland—after which he returned to England. In the next year Strongbow became viceroy, a very difficult position to fill, owing to rebellions and raids among the Irish, the English and the Danes.

Roderick O'Connor now found his position hard to maintain, and, so, sent to Henry for protection. By the treaty of Windsor, 1175, Roderick became king of Connaught and vassal of Henry, and was also appointed to rule the rest of Ireland, except the English colony, and compel the kings and chiefs to pay tribute to Henry. Prince John was sent over with the intention of his becoming "Lord of Ireland;" but as a lad of nineteen, full of pranks, he gave offence to the Irish princes and chiefs and soon had the whole country in the wildest disorder, after which he was recalled to England, and de Courcy was appointed viceroy.

After the death of Henry, his son Richard became king; and he intrusted the affairs of Ireland to the care of his brother John, who appointed de Lacy Viceroy in place of de Courcy. The wars among the kings and chiefs continued unabated; and it was during this time that the chief Cahal Crouderg won his right to the kingdom of Connaught after subduing Cahal Carrach, his rival.

In 1199 John succeeded to the English throne, and found Ireland if possible more disturbed than ever. Alliances of all kinds were formed among the kings and princes from time to time in order to attain their ends, and in these alliances the people of the English

Colony figured, too, with a result that the confusion of the country became more confounded. The people of the English towns were adopting the customs of their neighbours; the nobles were becoming insubordinate and establishing themselves as independent rulers; and anarchy was becoming the established rule everywhere. When King John visited Ireland, the insubordinate barons fled, and Cahal Crouderg appeared before him and made his submission.

The part of Ireland that had been chiefly occupied by the English was divided into twelve counties—Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary—and these districts became known as the “English Pale,” where English law was established. The establishment of the “Pale” divided Ireland into two parts, each part was subject to a different code of laws and customs; and the people of each part hated those of the other.

After Robert Bruce’s success at Bannockburn, the Irish invited him to send his brother over as their king, to which he responded by sending Edward Bruce with six thousand Scotchmen to Larne. Donall O’Neill of Ulster joined forces with them, and soon the North of Ireland was under the sway of the sword. Cruelty, disorder, murder, famine accompanied this effort to cast the English out. Robert Bruce with an army of twenty thousand joined in the effort to subjugate the people of the Pale, but returned to Scotland the next year. In 1318 Edward Bruce made his last

attempt to secure victory, but in the battle of Dundalk, with the opposing forces under Sir John Bermingham, he was defeated and slain. Although the Bruces were defeated and the object they sought unattained, yet the results of their expedition changed the complexion of Ireland. Ulster was practically restored to the old order, and clans and chiefs again came into possession of the land: the English people became more and more one with the people around them, even adopting their dress, language and names, and, as a result, have been described as “more Irish than the Irish themselves.”

When Edward III. succeeded his father in 1327, the outlook was very discouraging in Ireland, especially owing to the defections of the English there and their feuds among themselves. The “black death” wrought great havoc in Ireland, as well as in other places, and greatly added to the misery and suffering of the people. Edward adopted a new method to save the English from losing their identity in Ireland, by passing the famous Statute of Kilkenny, which prohibited the English from using the Irish language or adopting Irish names. It also inveighed against the use of the Brehon Law or customs; marriage between English and Irish; and the adoption of English children by Irish foster-fathers. These provisions were soon lost sight of; the two races continued to fuse into one; and many of the lords of the Pale disclaimed allegiance to their old country.

King Richard II. visited Ireland in 1394 with a

force of thirty-four thousand men, with the intention of settling the question of rebellion for all time. He received the submission of seventy-five chiefs and the four provincial kings, whom he knighted—O'Neill of Ulster, O'Connor of Connaught, MacMurrogh of Leinster and O'Brien of Thomond. This submission amounted to nothing, for no sooner had the king left Ireland than the old order of war and destruction was resumed. During the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI. the same disorder continued; and a miniature war of the roses was carried on by the Butlers and the Talbots. While Richard, Duke of York, was Lord Lieutenant, the Parliament asserted their independence—1449—that they were independent of other laws than those made in Ireland, and were entitled to a separate coinage. During the Wars of the Roses, while the English were occupied in attending to domestic matters, and while leaders of the Pale were attacking one another, the Irish attacked the settlers and took away much of the old Pale, leaving only Louth, Dublin, Meath and Kildare. Thomas, the great Earl of Desmond, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland upon Henry IV.'s accession, and in a short time became extremely popular with all parties. He founded Youghal College and Drogheda University. The Irish Parliament in 1465 decreed that all Irishmen in the Pale were to dress and shave like the English, and take English surnames.

After Henry VII. came to the throne, he was called upon to deal with the imposter Lambert Simnel, who

posed as the Yorkish Prince Edward, and as such was received by the Irish—except Waterford, which retained its loyalty and thus earned the title, “untarnished city.” Two thousand Germans arrived to support Simnel; but the effort was frustrated and “Edward IV.” was carried a prisoner to England. Other “plots” reached the king’s ears, and he sent Sir Edward Poynings to Ireland to take charge of the situation. He convened parliament in Drogheda in 1494, when the famous “Poynings Law” was passed. This law provided that no Parliament should be called in Ireland until the king and Privy Council in England had passed upon the reasons for the call, and considered the proposed laws; and that all the English laws affecting the public weal should hold good in Ireland. At this time the Earl of Kildare was arrested for treason and sent to prison; but during his trial he displayed such peculiar skill that the king had to laugh heartily; and, when informed that “All Ireland cannot rule this man,” replied, “Then if all Ireland cannot rule him, he shall rule all Ireland,” and so the great Earl—Garret or Gerald Fitzgerald—was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Henry the VII. seemed determined to rule Ireland with a firm hand; and he employed at various times Garret Oge of Kildare, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Sir William Skeffington to carry out his purpose. Later in the reign of Henry VIII. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Silken Thomas, upon hearing a report that his father had been beheaded in 1534, re-

signed as Lord Deputy, and caused a rebellion, during which Archbishop Allen of Dublin was slain and much devastation occurred. Under the new Lord Deputy and Lord Leonard Grey, Marshal of Ireland, the uprising was quelled; Maynooth was battered down; and Silken Thomas was sent to the Tower. Through the fall of the Fitzgeralds, and the skill of Henry's representatives, including Cromwell, the power of England, which had almost been effaced, was again stretched over Ireland, and Henry decided to have the English Law respected and enforced. The Brehon Law, which obtained from the earliest times, and included a system of clan rule and common tenure of land by the tribe, was not appreciated by the newcomers, who decided to make "Ireland English" in custom, language and law. In 1536 a parliament in Dublin decreed the king to be the Supreme Spiritual Head of the Church: and nearly all the monasteries were suppressed, and their property and lands taken by the Crown. Sir Anthony Sentleger was Lord Deputy about 1540, and he influenced the king to adopt, instead of the iron rule, conciliatory measures in dealing with the chiefs and people. The chiefs were thus won over, and acknowledged the temporal and spiritual authority of Henry, upon whom the Irish Parliament in 1541 conferred the title, "King of Ireland."

The Church in Ireland up to the middle of the twelfth century had been one, and entirely autonomous; but after Henry's men had established them-

selves, there were two churches, that of the Pale and the ancient Irish Church. There were no differences, however, between these in either doctrine or discipline; but the Pale was under the care of English clergy, and the remainder of Ireland was under the care of Irish clergy. It is true that the religious life of the country suffered greatly through the many wars and difficulties that had kept it in constant turmoil, and that the outlook must have been extremely discouraging in 1525, when it was stated, "if the king do not provide a remedy, there will be no more Christianity than in the middle of Turkey." Henry, who had had a fair theological training, for it was intended at one time that he should become Archbishop of Canterbury, and had distinguished himself in writing a book against Lutheranism for which the Pope conferred on him the title, "Defender of the Faith," set to work to deal with the situation by renouncing the authority of the Pope and declaring himself as the "Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland under Christ." To this the people generally seemed indifferent, but Archbishop Browne of Dublin, with other bishops and many of the clergy gave their assent, while Primate Cromer of Armagh and some of the clergy and the native chieftains opposed the new order. In the reign of Edward VI. a Prayer Book in English was foisted on the Irish people, against the protests of Primate Dowdall, Archbishop Cromer's successor in Armagh, who left the Convocation saying, "Now shall every illiterate

fellow read mass," which became, on the one hand, the cause of general strife, and on the other hand, an instrument in uniting Ireland, as nothing else had done, against English rule. Archbishop Browne had written years before to Cromwell, the English Vicar General, "both English and Irish begin to oppose your Lordship's orders and to lay aside their national old quarrels," words prophetic of the present state. When Mary came to the throne, she deprived Archbishop Browne of his See, as well as Bishop Bale of Ossory and other bishops who had espoused and furthered the new order, and had the old order re-established. As soon as Elizabeth became queen she reversed the acts of her predecessor and re-established the Act of Uniformity, requiring the use of the English Book of Common Prayer and attendance at the service where this book was used. The Plantation of Ulster at a later date greatly added to the religious troubles of Ireland, as many of the settlers were Scotch Presbyterians and English Puritans; and when Stafford was Lord Deputy not the least of his labor was directed toward a solution of these difficulties. The Irish Rebellion of 1641, which tried to cast out the English and restore the old order of worship, resulted in the prohibition of the new Service Book and the establishment of the Puritan Directory and Independent preachers.

During the reign of Edward VI. civil strife again broke out in Ireland, and Edward Bellingham was sent over with an army to restore order, which he

did, and added Leix and Offaly to the Pale. Conflict between the Brehon Law and the English caused Shane O'Neill to make war upon Matthew O'Neill, whom the English Law recognized as the rightful successor to Conn O'Neill, and after several encounters with enemies he was declared victor. As Shane O'Neill became powerful he caused much concern to the English who backed those who opposed him, and he was invited to a peace conference with Queen Elizabeth in 1562, the conditions of which he afterward repudiated; but in the following year he made a valid and lasting submission.

The war between the Fitzgeralds and Butlers caused deputy Sir Henry Sydney to take a tour through the country to put down the rebellion. He arrested the Earl of Desmond, and allowed his brother, John Fitzgerald, to take charge of Munster. Later, through their old enemy Ormond, both these were sent to the tower, where they were kept for six years. Their cousin, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, took up their case with the Irish chiefs, who had become greatly disaffected, from which came the Geraldine rebellion. Sydney did all he could to upset the league of enemies and to put down the rebellion. He appointed Presidents to govern Munster and Connaught, but these simply tantalized the chiefs and people and increased their insubordination. Spain and the Pope, at the solicitation of Thomas Stukely, an Irishman, decided to attack Ireland, and accordingly sent Italian and Spanish

soldiers over; but their efforts were not successful. In the following year, 1580, another expedition of Italian and Spanish soldiers took possession of a fort at Smerwick, Kerry; but were later defeated by Earl Grey. In 1583 the Earl of Desmond was slain; his lands confiscated, and, so, that rebellion which produced the greatest hardships and suffering in Munster was brought to a close.

The plantation of Desmond's land was now taken up. Land was offered to Englishmen at two pence and three pence per acre, and no rent was to be collected for the first five years. Everyone who took up twelve thousand acres of this land agreed to settle eighty-six English families on it; a like arrangement was made for smaller holdings. Sir Walter Raleigh took charge of forty-two thousand acres in Cork and Waterford, and took up his residence near old Saint Mary's Church, Youghal. Edmund Spenser took charge of twelve thousand acres in Cork. The English settlers did not come as arranged, however, and soon most of the land reverted to its former owners.

Hugh O'Neill was born about 1545, and succeeded his brother as Baron of Dungannon. His early education was received in England, where he adopted the manners of the people and espoused the cause of the government. For his loyalty in the early days of his career in Ireland, and the help he accorded the Government, he was duly created Earl of Tyrone, after which he lost interest in the English projects and finally cast

all his influence on the side of the chiefs and kings who opposed the English. In view of the disturbed state of the country, three thousand troops were sent from England under the generalship of Sir John Norris; and O'Neill, fearing that this presaged the general subjugation of Ireland, placed himself at the head of a revolutionary movement and began to plunder and destroy the English settlements. After succeeding in defeating the English in various parts of the country he won a rather decisive victory at Yellow Ford with the aid of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Maguire, and MacDonnell of the Glens—all leaders of pronounced ability. On hearing of the success of the revolutionists in the North, the chiefs of Munster incited their people to rebel also, and soon the whole of Ireland was in a state of turmoil and disorder unequaled in past history. At this time, 1599, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, was appointed Lord Lieutenant and instructed to bring Tyrone to account, and to settle his twenty thousand men throughout Ireland to restore order; but his efforts, including a peace conference with O'Neill, came to nothing, and he was succeeded by Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, a man of marked ability. Lord Mountjoy, who was ably supported by Sir George Carew, President of Munster, in a short time restored order in all the provinces, except Ulster—where O'Neill and O'Donnell still gave fight, although in an area that was becoming smaller daily. The arrival of a Spanish fleet at Kinsale with 3,400 troops, and an urgent appeal to the Northern

chiefs, soon brought O'Neill and O'Donnell to Munster to carry on the rebellion there. The Spanish leader, Don Juan del Aquila, and the Irish chiefs were outgeneraled by Lord Mountjoy and Kinsale, and a line of forts, including Baltimore, Castlehaven and Dunboy, fell into the hands of the English. Hugh O'Neill was brought to Dublin: the Earl of Desmond went to Spain: and the war was brought to a close. After O'Neill's submission he and O'Donnell accompanied Lord Mountjoy to England, where James I. of England restored them to their titles of Tyrone and Tirconnell with their former lands. Under Sir Arthur Chichester, Mountjoy's successor, the English Laws and customs were established in Ireland, with a view to the settlement of the country's difficulties, but this effort was not successful, as the Irish clung to their old Brehon Laws and customs. In a short while Tyrone and Tirconnell fled the country for France, from where they went to Rome where the King of Spain and the Pope gave them pensions, which they enjoyed to the end of their days.

As soon as James came to the throne he decided that the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity—which to a great decree had been unenforced—should be repealed; and, also, that the greater part of Ulster, which had been under the two defeated Earls, should become the property of the Crown. Thus came about the Plantation of Ulster—which was divided into 2,000, 1,500 and 1,000-acre lots. The first were to be taken by English and Scotch settlers: the second,

by those who had served the Government: and the third, by English, Scotch or Irish.

In 1633 King Charles I. sent Wentworth to Ireland, who gave himself up to raising money for the king and to acquiring land in Connaught and Munster, in which he placed new settlers as fast as he could find men ready to agree to his rules. In Ulster he laid the foundation of the linen business by bringing skilled men from France to work in the industry there, and from this time dates the development of Irish commerce. He summoned an Irish Parliament in 1634, and compelled the members, among other things, to vote the wherewithal to maintain an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse. He raised an army of nine thousand men in Ireland, whom he intended to use in the king's service, but who were disbanded and became a source of great trouble after his recall in 1641.

A terrible rebellion, fed by religious animosity, took place throughout Ireland under the leadership of Rory O'Moore, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Lord Maguire of Fermanagh, Magennis, O'Reilly and the Mac-Mahons, in 1641; and these men sought the help of France, Spain and the Netherlands in their desire to cast out and destroy every vestige of English life in the country. On the 23d of October a general uprising took place, and, except in Dublin, the English and their sympathisers were set upon and thousands were murdered inside a week. The cruelties inflicted on the people were extremely barbarous. The

Roman Catholics of the Pale now joined with those outside and effected a union called the "Confederation of Kilkenny," set upon defending "the public and free exercise of the true and Catholic Roman religion;" and tried to make the people believe that they were loyal subjects of the king. In 1645 the Pope sent a representative to join this confederation, with a large amount of money and war instruments. After repeated efforts and defeats, the Confederation agreed to peace terms which brought a ghastly chapter of Irish history to a close.

Upon the death of Charles I., the Irish made a new alignment, and turned to the Royalist side, proclaiming the Prince of Wales king under the title of Charles II. To meet the situation Oliver Cromwell was despatched with a large army and supplies of all kinds, and in less than a year succeeded in subduing his enemies and bringing the country to a comparative state of order. After Cromwell's son-in-law and second in command, Ireton, had carried on the work of settlement, he died in Ireland, and was succeeded by Edmund Ludlow. In 1652 Parliament decided to follow up Cromwell's victory by depriving those leaders who had fought against him of their lands, and settling instead many of those who had supported him. The small farmers were not disturbed, however, which explains in part the large number of Roman Catholics found in the South and West of Ireland. The soldiers who had fought against Cromwell were allowed to go elsewhere, and many entered

the service of Continental armies. The Parliament of 1661 passed a law that restored any person who had had no part in the uprising of 1641 to his former place and land. Under this law hundreds of people proved their innocence and were reinstated.

At the time of the Restoration, it is estimated that, of a population of 1,100,000 in Ireland, no less than 800,000 were adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, and 100,000 were members of the Church of Ireland—which Charles restored to its former place—and 200,000 were non-conformists. The Presbyterians were now brought into contact with the Act of Uniformity. When James II. came into power he steadfastly tried to set the Roman Catholic religion on a solid footing in Ireland by turning every Englishman out of office, and requiring that every Judge, Privy Councillor, Mayor and Alderman should be a Roman Catholic and an Irishman. The Irish army was placed under men who had fulfilled the above test: and many rumors as to intended massacres spread through the country, so that fifteen hundred non-Roman Catholic families left the country. William, Prince of Orange, came to Ireland to call James and his officers to account, but James fled to France, where he raised a small army to take back to Ireland. Enniskillen refused to admit James' army; and Derry, into which many refugees had come for safety, with the slogan "no surrender," remained in a state of siege for one hundred and five days, after which James and his followers had to withdraw defeated.

Meanwhile James had a Roman Catholic parliament in Dublin repeal all the offensive measures hitherto passed, including Poyning's Law and the Act of Settlement.

In 1689 the Duke of Schomberg was sent to Ireland to interrupt James' program among the people; but no sooner had he arrived than the French ruler sent James seven thousand picked men to help in his battles. The battle was set in array on July 1st near Oldbridge, and after a day's hard fighting James ran from the field with his defeated force retreating toward Dublin. Sarsfield, James' chief leader, upon hearing of James' defeat, said to one of William's army, "Change kings with us, and we will fight you over again." Limerick resisted William's siege, after which he returned to England, leaving Churchill, then Earl of Marlborough, in command, before whom Cork and Kinsale capitulated. Soon Athlone and Aughrim were overcome. Limerick alone remained in revolt. Sarsfield agreed to a treaty under the terms of which security from disturbance on account of religion was guaranteed; those in arms with James were allowed what they possessed in Charles I.'s time; the garrison were allowed to march out of the city with colors flying; and those who wanted to go abroad were allowed to do so. William and Mary were then acknowledged as the rulers of the country.

Steps were now taken to prevent the Roman Catholics from attaining any real power in the affairs of the country, so that another uprising against their

brethren of other religious proclivities should be impossible; and the measures taken by James against the non-Roman Catholics were improved and now put into force against the Roman Catholics. James had disarmed the people who were not likely to support his efforts; but the laws of William forbade most of the Roman Catholics to possess arms, and to the oath of Supremacy was added the oath of Abjuration. Other laws enacted touched the liberty of all who did not belong to the Church of Ireland, and especially that one which made it necessary for voters to receive the Eucharist according to the established rite. These laws were made more obnoxious in later years, and resulted in general disaffection.

The legitimate trade of Ireland was greatly hampered by legislation intended to advance the interests of the English farmers and others. The Navigation Act of 1660-3 forbade exports to the Colonies and the sending of Irish raised cattle to England. In 1698 the Irish Parliament greatly helped in destroying the woolen trade of the country by placing a tax of four shillings in the pound on woolen goods sent out of the country to other markets, and a tax of two shillings on frieze and flannel. This legislation crippled trade, and as a result thousands were thrown out of work—many of whom emigrated.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE UNION AND SOME OF ITS RESULTS

Distinguished leaders.—Various societies formed.—The Volunteers and the 1783 Parliament.—Coercion.—Enfranchisement of Roman Catholics.—Wolf Tone and the 1798 Rebellion.—Northern Orangemen.—The Union.—Efforts to Repeal.—Daniel O'Connell enters Parliament.—National education.—Various reforms.—The "Young Ireland Party."—John Mitchell and independence.—The Famine, 1845-7 and American aid.—The Church of Ireland disestablished.



N the reign of Queen Anne little took place which affected the welfare of Ireland, except the petition from the Irish House of Lords that the two countries be united, but no legislative action was taken to this end. After the Union between England and Scotland had been effected, the petition was again presented, but all to no purpose. Later, when a legal case was passed upon by the Irish House of Lords, the English House of Lords reversed the decision; and, later, as a consequence of this disagreement, the English Parliament passed the famous law, "The Sixth of George I.", which deprived the Irish House of Lords of the power to hear appeals, and arrogated to itself the power to make laws for Ireland.

The tract of William Molyneux, "The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," must have whetted Dean Swift's dis-

approval of Ireland's scant legislative power, and twenty-five years later caused him to write the famous "Drapier Letters," which gave a definite turn to the thoughts and aspirations of the Irish people. The English Government had granted to a certain Mr. Wood, of England, a patent to make £108,000 worth of half-pence and farthings for use in Ireland, out of which the maker of the coins would make £40,000 for his own pocket. The two houses of the Irish Parliament had disapproved of this law, and had stated that the proposed coins were to be of less value than those used in England, consequently depressing Irish trade and commerce; but the English authorities remained obdurate, and the law would have passed, if Dean Swift had not taken the matter in hand. Dean Swift wrote five letters in his most trenchant style, and signed them W. B. Drapier, stating that twenty-four of those proposed half-pence would be worth only one good penny, that the people would have to use carts and horses to draw their coins to the shops when marketing, and that even the very beggars would be ruined by it, for, he stated, one of these half pennies "will do him no more service than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve." The whole country, for once, were at one in condemning the scheme; and popular indignation was at its height when Lord Carteret, the new Viceroy, offered £300 to any one who would produce the writer of the letters; but, while everyone knew that the Dean was the writer, no one was willing to get him into trouble, and, so, he was not

interfered with. The printer was imprisoned, and tried by two juries who failed to agree on a verdict. These letters however, killed the scheme; and the patent was withdrawn from Wood, who received a pension for his disappointment. The Dean was a thorough patriot: years before he had put forth a plan, which if carried out would have gone a long way toward making the country more prosperous, united and self-reliable, "For the universal use of Irish manufacture in clothes and the furniture of houses;" but he received little encouragement from his countrymen.

The short stay of Lord Chesterton as Viceroy was a hopeful time for Ireland, for, instead of antagonizing any party as some of his predecessors had done, he inaugurated a policy of conciliation toward all, ignoring various laws and ruling according to his own good sense. "I came," said he, "determined to proscribe no set of persons whatever, and determined to be governed by none." This policy, however, gave offence, and soon he was recalled, taking with him the affection and love of the people, and leaving a record that greatly helped to further the desires of the people, so ably voiced and supported by Mr. Molyneux and Dean Swift. The question as to the disposition of a surplus revenue, and its final settlement without the king's consent, greatly increased the power of the party in Parliament known as "Patriots," and gave more zest and form to the movement for parliamentary independence. Dr.

Charles Lucas of Dublin was so bold in pushing the case for independence and the abolition of disabling law, that the Irish Parliament instituted legal proceedings against him, and he fled to England for safety. About this time a society, having for its object the furthering of the interests of Roman Catholics, was formed as the "Catholic Committee." A society of "Whiteboys" was formed in 1761, the object of which was to guard against the encroachment of landlords; but later this society assumed the right of dealing treacherously and wantonly with all who differed from them. Other societies such as "Hearts of Oak," formed against forced labor on roads, and "Hearts of Steel," formed against the trafficking of middlemen in rents, came into existence about this time, to which were added later the Volunteers, the society of "United Irishmen," and the "Orangemen." Mr. Henry Flood, a man of unusual ability, now came forward as the leader of the "Patriotic Party" in Parliament, and succeeded, aided by the eloquent Henry Grattan, in securing some concessions from the English Government regarding the Irish Parliament. The life of the English Parliament was seven years, while that of the Irish Parliament was during the king's pleasure; and now a bill was approved in both Parliaments making the life of the Irish Parliament eight years. Mr. Flood, however, owing to his having accepted a post under the English Viceroy, lost the confidence of the Irish people, and was succeeded as leader by his friend Mr. Grattan, who never spared

his oratorical power when opportunity offered. When Mr. Grattan assumed command, the interests of England were in a critical state. The American Independence was being secured, France and Spain were threatening invasion and helping the Colonies, the Irish were raising Volunteers to keep Ireland safe, and the patriots were clamoring for redress of religious and commercial grievances in Parliament—which were partially set right.

When the Parliament of 1779 assembled, the Patriotic Party, who now practically controlled the Volunteers, became more assertive and dictatorial, and Mr. Grattan moved an amendment to the address, “that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.” Free trade was granted the same year. After a couple of attempts to secure favorable legislation, Mr. Grattan, in 1782, called together representatives of the 100,000 Volunteers for a convention at Dungannon, and there two hundred and forty-two delegates passed some striking resolutions. These delegates declared that the King and the Irish Parliament alone had the right to make laws for Ireland: that Poyning’s Law was unconstitutional; that Irish ports should be open to all friendly nations; and that they rejoiced in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. These resolutions—with others of the Convention—were duly ratified by the Volunteers, who were not Roman Catholics. The English Parliament passed an act

the same year, known as the “Act of Repeal,” repealing the “Sixth of George I.,” and putting into effect the recommendations of Mr. Grattan and the Volunteers, which brought forth rejoicing among the Irish, who rewarded Mr. Grattan by a grant of money and voted men and money to the English navy.

During the session of the Parliament of 1783 in Dublin, representatives of the Volunteers met in Dublin also, and considered the question of reforming Parliament and annuling all disagreeable laws. Mr. Henry Flood brought a bill into Parliament setting forth the desires of those representatives, which, however, failed of passage and resulted in Mr. Flood’s entering the Parliament in England and the disbanding of the Volunteers. Upon the disbanding of the Volunteers, who continued to hold secret meetings in small groups, the government fearing trouble, which seemed to be brewing, added to the army strength in Ireland. At this time the “Whiteboys” inaugurated a reign of terror in the South, and avenged their anger on those who appeared to be gaining from the system that they were anxious to abolish. The “tithe” collectors, middlemen and curates were especially singled out, and received the hardest kind of treatment. In the North the “Peep-o’-day boys” carried on a campaign of terror also, and often came into open conflict with the “Whiteboys,” who were defeated at the Dimond, Armagh, in a battle on September 21, 1795. As a means of dealing with the strife engendered by these societies, the Government in

1787 passed a coercion bill that applied to the whole of Ireland.

Through the efforts of the “United Irishmen,” founded by Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone in 1791, and the “Catholic Committee,” a Bill was passed in Parliament in 1793 enfranchising Roman Catholics, allowing them to take degrees in Trinity College, opening civil posts to them, and removing barriers which for a long time had been cause for disaffection. Two years later, the government set apart the college of Maynooth—for the education of Roman Catholic priests—and gave it an annual grant of £8,000.

The “United Irishmen,” who now numbered more than five hundred thousand men, and had among their leaders some of the most prominent men of the time, soon became recognized as a revolutionary body and were closely watched by the government. Mr. Tone, their leader, seeing that England had many problems on hand, went to France and arranged for a French invasion of Ireland; but when the fleet of forty-three ships was nearing its destination it encountered such severe weather that only sixteen of the ships came into harbor, and these after waiting a week for other support returned again to France. Martial Law was then proclaimed by the government; several “United Irishmen” were arrested and many papers seized. Mr. Grattan, having failed to effect conciliatory arrangements between the “United Irishmen” and the Government, left Parliament. The next year a Dutch invasion of Ireland was tried; but Ad-

miral Duncan inflicted a heavy blow on the invaders at Camperdown, which brought their effort to an end.

The general discontent among the "Volunteers" soon led to open rebellion, for which the Government were practically prepared, as the secret arrangements of these societies had been carried to government leaders through a fairly good spy system, and when a concerted rebellion was about to break all over Ireland, some of its leaders were arrested. When the rebellion of 1798 did, however, come, it was ushered in through the crudest methods; and it was overcome by like treatment. In the North, the rebellion did not attain large proportions owing to the society of "Orangemen," who always took the side of the Government; but in the South and East the rising was carried on in the most ruthless fashion, and many innocent, law-abiding people were murdered. Generally considered, this rebellion, while it started as a political one, developed quickly into a religious strife between the Roman Catholics and the non-Roman Catholics, and numerous instances of cruelty occurred on each side. The massacre of the loyal people who had gathered in Scullaboge house, eight miles from New Ross, by the infuriated Roman Catholics, is an example of the treatment accorded those who fell into enemy hands. The account of this particular act of religious fury is as familiar to the people of Ireland today as anything that ever took place in the country; and many think of it as a well-conceived plan to exterminate as far as possible the non-Roman Catholic

people. After a week's bloody warfare the rebellion was practically overcome by the victory of Vinegar Hill, under Lord Lake; and, although resistance was offered here and there throughout the country, the conquering soldiers swept hither and thither inflicting cruelty and indignity by way of reprisal upon the retreating enemy. There was no hope of success after this, especially as French aid long promised did not arrive until it was too late. The French expedition which landed at Killala Bay on August 22, 1798, and the one which came to Lough Swilly, with which Mr. Wolfe Tone was identified, were duly defeated; and, instead of helping the rebellion, greatly prejudiced the Irish case in the minds of the Government and the loyalists.

William Pitt, who had contemplated a legislative Union between England and Ireland, was Prime Minister, and very soon seized upon the opportunity which the defeat of the rebellion offered to shape sentiment and clear the way for putting what he believed to be a necessity for the welfare of both countries into effect. Lord Cornwallis, who in many ways resembled Lord Chesterton in his dealing with Ireland, was Lord Lieutenant at this time, and often shrunk from carrying out measures which appeared necessary to secure the required authority of the Irish Parliament for their own death warrant. The Irish Parliament was opened on January 15, 1800, and, as the people knew what was under consideration, great anxiety prevailed in the Streets of Dublin and throughout the

land. Mr. Grattan, who was confined to bed through illness, rose up to attend the session and made an effort to have the union measure defeated or postponed, but without avail; and the Act of Union was passed with a large majority, and came into effect on the first of January, 1801.

The Act of Union made Ireland and Great Britain "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," and guaranteed the succession to the throne. In the new Parliament, Ireland was given in the upper house four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal Lords, and in the lower house one hundred members. The Church of Ireland was united with that of England; but no provision was made for the conferring of complete religious rights upon the Roman Catholic people, which, however, was remedied some years afterwards. Trade and Commerce of both countries were brought under the same law; Ireland was to contribute about two-seventeenths of the United Kingdom outlay; and it was decided that the National Debt should be paid by each country as formerly. The Courts of Justice were to remain as then constituted, with an opportunity of final appeal to the House of Lords. The population of Ireland at the time of the Union was about five million. The economic condition of the country at that time is stated in another part of this book.

The Union was no sooner effected than steps were taken toward another rebellion under Mr. Robert Emmet, who tried to bring together the disbanded

“United Irishmen;” but, in his effort to secure concerted action among those who responded to his call, he failed completely. The uprising of July, 1802, was quickly suppressed by the military, and Mr. Emmet was arrested, tried, and executed. This, as other uprisings, was productive of much strife among the people, and contributed largely toward the disturbed state of the country.

The “Catholic Committee” continued its efforts toward the removing of the last disability which prevented Roman Catholics from sitting in Parliament. At this time a new leader appeared, who possessed special qualifications for the work to which he gave his best efforts. Mr. Daniel O’Connell was a man who had come from a Kerry Roman Catholic family, and had studied abroad in preparation for the legal profession; but after his admission to the bar he gave himself chiefly to the work of nullifying the law which prevented the Roman Catholics from entering Parliament, and, also, to the starting of a movement for the repeal of the law which effected the Union, which he termed the “Repeal of the Union.” Mr. O’Connell, unlike most leaders, deprecated the principle of open hostility to the Government of his time, and determined to seek his ends through quiet and persistent methods, depending on the reasonableness of his claims, educational work, and the fair-mindedness of those in power. In this new method of acquiring his end, Mr. O’Connell was ably supported by that gifted man Mr. Thomas Moore, who composed some inspir-

ing songs and set them to old Irish airs, and thus helped to draw the attention of the people to the past and also to foster a national consciousness. As Mr. Grattan's successor, Mr. O'Connell soon came into prominence; and, owing to his persuasive oratory, secured a hearing wherever he went and was greatly in demand as a public speaker. Mr. Grattan and George the III. died in 1820. George the IV. decided to visit Ireland, where the welcome he received was of the most cordial nature, especially as the Irish people generally believed that his stay among them would result soon in legislation favorable to their country. As no relief came as the result of this visit, the country remained disturbed: and in 1822, Sir Robert Peel, who had been Chief Secretary since 1812, had the Royal Irish Constabulary, generally dubbed "peelers," created by Act of Parliament.

In 1823 Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Richard Lalor Shiel formed the "Catholic Association," the old, and the new, "Catholic Committee" having ceased to exist, with the purpose of obtaining Roman Catholic freedom in the fullest sense; and, in order to provide finance for this object, the Association, which had reached all over the country, collected one penny per week from their supporters. This subscription was called "Catholic Rent." An Act of Parliament legislated the "Association" out of existence, but Mr. O'Connell managed to circumvent the law and keep the Association alive—calling meetings from time to time for a fortnight only.

Mr. O'Connell's fitness for Parliament was apparent to everyone, but, as a Roman Catholic, he could not conscientiously qualify. Some men, however, of all kinds of political affiliation, desirous to see Mr. O'Connell representing Ireland, suggested to him that he should stand for election, and, if elected, present himself at the House of Commons for admission. A vacancy in Clare gave the opportunity to put this plan into effect. Mr. O'Connell opposed Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the former member—who owing to preferment to the Presidency of the Board of Trade had to seek re-election—and was elected to Parliament by a large majority. When Mr. O'Connell first appeared in Parliament he refused to take the qualifying oath, and, so was debarred. After another election and his return by a larger majority than previously, the government awoke to the importance of the part the “Catholic Association” was playing and the desire of the people of Ireland and England for Mr. O'Connell's admission to Parliament, and soon legislation was enacted which enabled him to take the seat to which he had been elected. He had, however, for the third time to seek election, as the bill which granted Emancipation came into effect on April 13, 1829, and was not retroactive; but in this election he was not opposed, and in due time was admitted to the United Parliament, where he started a movement for another end, which has continued to this day, under one title or another, the “Repeal of the Union.”

George IV. died in 1830, and was succeeded by his

brother William IV. Then followed a General Election, which resulted in the re-election of Mr. O'Connell and the election of several Roman Catholic supporters. The "Catholic Association" was now named the "Society of the Friends of Ireland," and, as this was declared illegal, Mr. O'Connell formed the "Anti-Union Association" which was likewise proscribed. In 1831 Chief Secretary E. C. Stanley founded a National Education system in Ireland, which combined secular and religious instruction for the children under separate religious auspices, and provided that no interference with any child's religious teachings should take place. To this system, still in vogue, reference is made in another chapter. In 1832, a Parliament Reform Bill was passed, which gave a vote to tenants of £50 a year, and to lease-holders at ten pounds a year, and increased the number of Irish representatives to one hundred and five. The restiveness caused by the "Church tithes and church rates" requirement was partially settled in 1833 by the "Church Temporalities Bill," which, besides reducing the Archbishoprics from four to two and the Bishoprics from eighteen to ten, abolished church rates; and five years later the tithes were reduced to twenty-five per cent., and the responsibility of payment placed on the landlord instead of the tenant as formerly.

William IV. died on June 20th, 1837, and was succeeded by his niece, Princess Victoria. In the next year the great temperance movement was inaugurated

by the Reverend Theobald Matthew, who exercised wonderful influence over the people and persuaded many to become total abstainers. In 1842 the "Nation" newspaper was founded by Messrs. Charles Gavan Duffy, John Blake Dillon and Thomas Davis, which propagated the desire for political freedom and revived the nation's literature. In the next year Mr. O'Connell and his followers held large meetings throughout the country, for the furtherance of the Repeal of the Union, which were at length forbidden by the Government; but Mr. O'Connell's disregard for the Government's orders resulted in his arrest, trial, and conviction—which was later disallowed by the House of Lords. After Mr. O'Connell's liberation a number of men, becoming dissatisfied with his methods, determined to break from his leadership and found a society of their own to be guided by other principles of attaining the Repeal of the Union.

These men, among whom Messrs. John Mitchell, Thomas Francis Meagher and William Smith O'Brien, as leaders, formed, "The Young Ireland Party," which was intended to include all Irishmen of every party and creed. This movement did wonders among the people, for it created a desire for, and propagated, Irish history and made the people more appreciative of their music, folk-lore and tradition. It gave the country a broad vision, in that it fostered appreciation of all that was good in the past, and inculcated a desire to respect other men's views. It gave a new spirit which, if it had remained, would have removed

many difficulties in Ireland's path in later years: but that was not to be. Notwithstanding Mr. O'Connell's advice to this party, for he foresaw where their new attitude would lead them, Mr. John Mitchell, who had founded a newspaper called the "United Irishman," headed a movement for the complete independence of Ireland and sought aid from France to this end. Mr. Mitchell was arrested, tried and sentenced to fourteen years penal servitude, which he worked out in Bermuda and Australia. Mr. Smith O'Brien then led the revolution, which was quickly suppressed, as no real plan had been made for its continuance, and the leaders were in due time imprisoned.

In 1845-1847 the disastrous potato famine took place in Ireland. Help was sent from England and from America; but notwithstanding all the assistance rendered thousands of people died of starvation. In Grace Church Parish House, New York, Rev. Dr. Slattery, Rector, may be seen an engraving of the town of Sligo and a letter of thanks, sent by the people of Sligo to the congregation of Grace Church in appreciation of their generous aid in those trying days. Mr. O'Connell, who had keenly felt the misery entailed by the famine, began to decline in health in 1846 and on the fifteenth of May, 1847, died in Genoa, after willing his heart to Rome and his body to Ireland, where, in Glasneven Cemetery, Dublin, his remains were interred, and a monument erected to his memory. The famine, which influenced the law repealing the Corn Laws was a real blight in the de-

velopment of Ireland. Emigration now set in as one of the cures of the evils left in the wake of the famine, and thousands set out for America and elsewhere to seek their fortunes, with a result of a large falling off in rural population and a marked decrease in the whole population of the country. At the time of the Union there were about 5,000,000 people in Ireland, whereas about 1845, when the famine began, there were 8,295,000, but this number was greatly reduced by the famine and emigration; and at the present time, notwithstanding the many aids given by the government, during the past fifty years, in local government, land purchase and industrial development, the whole population is less than 5,000,000. The decrease in rural population is not, however, peculiar to Ireland; but is world-wide, as the history of almost every country shows during the last half-century.

The "Society of the Fenian Brotherhood" was formed in 1862, and had for its object the securing of Ireland's independence by force; but, although a secret society, the government, through spies, knew every move made and were able to frustrate its efforts at all times. This Brotherhood spread to England and America. In England the Fenians planned to take Chester, and later to make an invasion of Ireland, and in America they planned an invasion of Canada; but in each instance their efforts proved abortive, and the ringleaders were either executed or sent to prison.

After these events, and by way of making a con-

cession to the demands of some of the advocates of Ireland's case, the Government set about a reformation in the temporal affairs of the Church of Ireland; and, in accordance with Mr. Gladstone's desire, the Church of Ireland was legally disestablished in 1869. Owing to this order, a large sum of money came into the hands of the Government from the Church of Ireland. Part of this money was given to support Maynooth College, the training college for the Roman Catholic Ministry; part of it was given to Intermediate Education; and part of it was given toward the agricultural development of the Island. The Church of Ireland has since that time been free from State interference.

## CHAPTER V

## REMEDIAL MEASURES OF IMPORTANCE

Progressive legislation.—The Land Acts, between 1870 and 1909, and their results.—Sir Horace Plunkett's Co-operative plans.—The Irish Agricultural Society.—Congested Districts' Board.—Laborers' cottages.—The Recess Committee.—Local Government, 1908, and its working.—Irish Universities.—Secondary education.—Gaelic League.



HERE is no question that Ireland's welfare from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century has been given a large place in the deliberations of Parliament, and that statesmen of every class and creed have been anxious to see her succeed and prosper. Along with the desire and efforts of many of the Irish for a Home Rule measure went the desire for economic success; and while the first has not been attained to the extent that the present majority leaders claim as a right, yet the second has been making great strides forward and receiving substantial support not only from the Government but also from Irishmen themselves, outside Government circles and without party or political distinction. This is one of the most encouraging aspects of the country which in the early days of the war received from a Parliamentary leader the compliment of being, "the one bright spot" of the Empire; and who knows what may result from this generous

attitude and support in the future. The account of Ireland's life in the foregoing pages, brief, as it necessarily had to be, and with only a wish to state the salient points by which perhaps those who are not quite familiar with Ireland's history might arrive at an understanding of the present, shows that, at the time of the Union there was large opportunity for development and progress in the whole life of the people. That opportunity was to some extent embraced in the next forty-five years, but from that time to this the march of progress, aided and strengthened by favorable legislation and large grants of money, is really marvellous.

Those who made the chief efforts in the early days are to be thanked for their ability in recognizing the proper place where reformation should begin, and for laying the foundation of a place which has already borne gratifying results and has influenced every side of Irish life. The purchase of land by the tenant has contributed largely to the success of other movements; and to the highly prosperous condition of the country to-day. Before the Land Act of 1870, most of the farmers in Ireland held their land from year to year according to the pleasure of the landlord, who if his tenants failed to pay their rent simply dispossessed them and rented the land to others. In some instances it made no difference whether they paid their rent promptly or not, if the landlord decided to take the land from them out they went and that was the end of it. The farms in most cases were very small, and in

many instances were divided into sections—with a field here or there perhaps in the middle of somebody else's land—which made the cultivation and upkeep, as far as these went, difficult and expensive. The farmer who took interest in his farm and improved it, was usually rewarded in the form of an increase of rent, and, consequently, except where a mutual understanding between landlord and tenant had been arrived at, there was little or no land improvement. The tenure was too uncertain to warrant the tenant's putting anything into the land, while on the other hand this uncertainty filled him with a desire to get everything possible out of it with the least expense and trouble. The result was that the poor land became poorer, until at the time now stated a great deal of it was not worth cultivating; and the people were consequently extremely poverty stricken. After 1860 the right of contract was granted, by which the tenant was protected to some extent against loss for improvements made by him on his farm. This, while a small matter, was the beginning of a system which has resulted in the tenants' becoming owners of the land, in one of the most prosperous countries in the world to-day.

The next Land Act was passed in 1870, and was a decided improvement upon the former, in that it gave the tenant the status to a certain degree of co-owner, and provided that, in case the tenant desired to purchase his land, the Government would help him to the extent of lending two-thirds of the purchase money,

which should be repaid yearly at the rate of five per cent. on the amount advanced. Of this provision a great many took advantage, who, together with those who later took advantage of the still more generous Act of 1881, amounted to 1600 tenants—while the amount lent by the Government under these two Acts amounted to about £800,000.

In 1881 a Land Act was passed, under which the Government agreed to advance three-quarters of the purchase money; and also to make provision for the settling of rents, from time to time between landlord and tenant, by the creation of a court for hearing appeals for rent reduction. This Act made the landlord and the tenant joint owners, and forbade any increase in rent owing to improvements made by the tenant. A large number availed themselves of the provisions of this law, and reductions of twenty and thirty per cent. were made in many cases. The measure greatly helped to relieve the strain of the people, and to lessen the outcry against landlordism that had prevailed heretofore.

In 1885 the famous “Ashbourne Act” was passed by which £5,000,000 were voted toward enabling tenants to buy their farms outright, the amount lent to be paid back by the borrowers in small amounts. As in the case of the Judicial Rents Law of 1881, many farmers took advantage of this generous aid and bought out their farms, which resulted in a new life and a decided interest in the care of the land and its improvements. A little later another £5,000,000

grant was made by Parliament for this purpose.

In 1903 an Act, known as the "Wyndham Act," was passed with a view to expediting land purchase, because under former laws landlords and tenants were not always willing to agree on the price to be paid, and, consequently, certain efforts to sell and to buy resulted in failure. The government now donated £12,000,000 for the purpose of bringing the prices the tenants offered for the farms up to the prices demanded by the landlords, when the demand was considered reasonable. It was provided that in future "estates" and not single holdings as formerly were to be sold; and three Commissioners were appointed for the carrying out of the plan. In less than five years the government had advanced for sales of land under this Act more than £80,000,000. An Act passed in 1909 created a relationship between the Congested Districts Board and the Estates Commissioners, by which definite regions should be recognized for the operations of each.

These Land Acts have been instrumental in creating a new order and a new life in Ireland. The former tenants of more than two-thirds of the land are now owners of their farms; and as a result of this proprietorship, and of further government aid mentioned hereafter, the land is cultivated in the most modern fashion and yields highly-gratifying returns. The former landlords, whose houses and demesnes were secured to them, continue to live in Ireland and to invest their money in Irish enterprises. The Govern-

ment still continue to encourage the farmers, who have not done so, to buy their land, and have provided over £100,000,000 to be used in effecting such sales. What wonder then that Professor M. Bonn, of Munich University, should have written these words, extremely complimentary to the Government and truly descriptive of the condition to-day: "The Irish tenants have had conditions assured to them more favorable than any other tenantry in the world enjoy."

While the various Land Acts were being passed, and a new spirit of hopefulness and thrift was beginning to manifest itself, there came a prophet to the people with a message and a plan for the immediate betterment of the country, by what may be properly called "self-help," in Irish industrial and economic enterprises. The enunciator of this message had spent several years in America, where he had watched the development of the people, the reclaiming of land, and the most up-to-date systems in producing and marketing to the best advantage of the farmers themselves; and, when he returned to Ireland, he, with a few supporters, evolved a plan for Ireland, which, although not immediately successful, in a comparatively short time proved its need and its value. Sir Horace Plunkett, in his plan of "Co-operation" among farmers, inaugurated a movement in 1889 that has had the greatest influence for good upon the life of the people, and the development through self-help of their enormous industrial and economic resources; and so highly were the results of the movement appre-

ciated abroad, that, within a few years inquiry came from France, Canada, the United States and other countries as to the ways and means of attaining these desirable results. In these matters Sir Horace Plunkett really "put Ireland on the map," and to their working he has devoted practically all his life since; and, in view of his vision and service, it is hard to understand that he is now without the backing of any political party of importance. True, like others, he has changed his views from time to time regarding the whole Irish question. In his office in Merion Square, Dublin, this patriot may be found year after year, working many hours more than the eight-hour limit daily, without price, and with no other end in view than the unity and welfare of his country; and over his desk there hangs a portrait of a friend, the late Theodore Roosevelt, who, like Sir Horace himself, received no small inspiration and power for the work to which he devoted his life, during the years he spent in the Western part of America.

In those days the farmers in Ireland were going along in the old ways, each acting independently of the rest and getting all he could for the produce of his farm, and paying the highest price for the necessities of life, farm implements, and all things necessary for carrying on his work. His old methods of business were too cumbrous and too expensive to allow of his entering the markets of the world, and claiming recognition of his goods, even if he possessed all the enterprise possible, with a result that there were few large

industries throughout Ireland to encourage and develop the possibilities within Ireland's own hands. It was no easy matter to revolutionize a system that had taken such hold of the people, especially in view of the fact, that the effort for improvement and the money to effect it were not to be expected from outside sources but from the people themselves.

The education along this line progressed rather satisfactorily after a while, and soon the farmers were listening to the reasonableness of the plea and preparing for active co-operation. All liked the idea of being able to buy their goods and implements at a wholesale rate, and welcomed the suggestion of using the best and most modern machinery; and they agreed that they themselves should have the profits resulting from their labors. To have these, and other results, combination was necessary; combination of effort, combination of product and combination of capital. The test of the principle, which, of course, had been condemned from many angles in Ireland as a plan which might work well in other countries but not there, was at length made in connection with an industry that seemed well suited to development at the time, that of dairying. Already capitalists had erected creameries here and there to which the Irish farmer brought his milk—being thus relieved as he thought of the trouble of butter-making—and received such price in return as the creamery cared to pay. A co-operative creamery was established; a building was erected and equipped; stock valued at

£1.0.0 per share was taken by the farmers; whatever money was necessary to bring the amount realized from the sale of stock up to the cost of building and equipping was borrowed at the rate of four per cent.; and the self-help movement entered upon a career of usefulness and profit. In the financing of new plants the society later borrowed whatever money was required, above the stock sales, from joint stock banks organized in connection with the general plan. These banks also lent money to farmers at a much lower rate of interest than prevailed elsewhere.

The working of the plan was made easy from the beginning. To the creamery, which was kept under the care of skilled assistants, the farmers brought their milk and received their price, and after the butter was made the buttermilk was given to them. The butter was sold by the creamery at the best price and in large quantities, and whatever money remained, after paying the necessary expenses, was divided among the share-holders. In this way the farmer, and he alone, profited by the whole transaction. It did not take long to have a just appreciation of the system take root in the farmers' minds, and as a result co-operative creameries quickly appeared in many districts. The chief leaders now realized that the growth and demand necessitated a larger scope for activity, and a number of allied branches under the care of the parent society.

In 1894 the "Irish Agricultural Organization Society" was formed, and soon the co-operative move-

ment extended its attention to almost everything in connection with the farm, including agricultural societies for purchasing farm requirements, poultry societies, banks, home-industries and libraries.

It is worthy of note that by the end of 1903, over eight hundred societies of one kind or another were established on the co-operative basis; 360 were dairy, 140 agricultural societies, nearly 200 agricultural banks, 50 home industries societies, 40 poultry societies, 40 others had miscellaneous objects, and the whole a membership of 80,000, representing some 400,000 persons.

Anyone interested in this movement, which has done so much for Ireland, should read that admirable book, "Ireland in the New Century," by Sir Horace Plunkett; and also "Ireland of To-day," *London Times*, 1913.

In 1891, two years after the co-operative movement was put forth, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Arthur Balfour, had a Bill brought into Parliament the purpose of which was to give aid to the densely settled parts of Ireland in securing for the people lands and homes in nearby districts, in improving the housing conditions, and in starting industries to afford employment. In a tour made of the Northwestern parts of the coast line in 1890, Mr. Balfour discovered that in several places the population was so large that the land under the most efficient system of cultivation could not produce food enough to guarantee them from want, and that in certain times of the year, par-

ticularly in winter, there was really no opportunity of earning money owing to the dearth of industrial enterprise. In the Act accepted by Parliament an organization, known as the "Congested Districts Board," was created and endowed with £1,500,000, which came from the disestablishing of the Church of Ireland in 1870. The Board had the power to do almost anything they thought best in connection with the improvement of the land and the welfare of the people; and soon their aid reached into buying and selling land, improving housing conditions, establishing local industries, fishing and cattle-raising, and a score of other channels, including schools for technical instruction. Soon, however, some of the work of this Board was transferred to another, under whose jurisdiction it logically came; and the annual income increased from about £41,500, to £231,000 by the end of 1913. Teachers and demonstrators were sent among the people to show them how to care for the land and live stock, and how to rotate crops to the best advantage. One item of the Board's achievements is especially noteworthy, the purchasing of Clare Island and the removing and locating of several families there on fairly-large farms at nominal rents. The Board spent over £150,000 in improving the live-stock and poultry in the district designated for its operations. Practical instruction was given to fishermen, who were helped in making and buying boats and tackle; classes were formed for crochet and lace making, for knitting, weaving; and every-

thing possible was done toward making the people self-reliant and self-sustaining. To help in the development of Ireland, a Light Railways Bill was passed by Parliament in 1895. The building of these railroads through the sparsely settled districts gave the farmer a quick, if not a very cheap, way of marketing his goods; and, also, during their construction gave remunerative employment to many people in those districts. Although these railroads have rendered great aid, yet there is room for many more, and for a reduction in rates for transportation throughout the country, no matter who provides the money.

Since 1883 the lot of the agricultural laborer has been greatly improved not only in the matter of wages, but also in the matter of housing throughout Ireland. The Government in approving of all efforts toward providing a more comfortable home for the poor laborer, has advanced £9,000,000 at low interest for this object, with most gratifying results. Through the Rural District Councils a large part of this money has been spent in building about 50,000 comfortable cottages, and providing an acre of ground to go with each house. These houses, slated or tiled, with gardens nicely kept, are a great improvement upon the thatched cabins of old and help to give the country a progressive and comfortable aspect.

During the period between Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill and the Home Rule Bill of 1912, the Irish question occupied the attention of many statesmen and others who were desirous of solving the mat-

ter at the earliest moment; and, after the General Election of 1895, a definite movement to this end was commenced by Sir Horace Plunkett in a letter to the Irish Press, headed: "A Proposal affecting the general welfare of Ireland," in which he advocated the uniting of all parties and creeds for the industrial development and educational advancement of the country. This, Sir Horace believed, would solve the whole difficulty, and in due time bring to the country whatever kind of rule the people desired. "We Unionists," he wrote, "without abating one jot of our Unionism, and we Nationalists, without abating one jot of our Nationalism, can each show our faith in the cause for which we have fought so bitterly and so long by sinking our party differences for our country's good, and leaving our respective policies for the justification of time." This touching appeal worked; and in a short time men of every political party and creed were brought together to deliberate in their country's welfare. It was a wonderful and unparalleled event, reminding one somewhat of the response given to Dean Swift's appeal when he called Ireland to oppose the base coinage arrangement, and gave great promise for the future. Inquiry regarding industrial and agricultural matters was instituted in different countries, and in due time this Committee, known as the "Recess Committee," suggested certain desirable legislation to the government. It was proposed that a new Department should be created, and endowed, to administer State aid to agriculture and

other industries, with a special minister directly responsible to Parliament, and with a consultative committee representing those chiefly concerned.

Mr. Gerald Balfour, the head of the Unionist Government at the time, approved most heartily of the plan, and soon a Bill was passed by Parliament enacting the suggestions of the "Recess Committee," creating, "a Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction in Ireland." Under the provisions of this Act several offices were created, and the President made responsible to Parliament; a number of Boards were brought under the care of the Department; and the Department was placed in charge of the various agencies for disbursing Government aid and for meeting the peculiar requirements of various parts of the country. Different Boards were to look after the various industries, and to their care were transferred, from South Kensington, grants for Arts and Science, and the Agricultural Institutes at Glesneven and Cork. A general Council was created of about one hundred members, who meet every year for, "discussing matters of public interest in connection with any of the purposes of this Act," two-thirds of whom are appointed by the local County and other Councils—created about the same time under the Local Government Act. The Department has an annual income from the Government of £197,000, and a sinking fund of £200,000. The work of the Department "consists of direct aid to agriculture and other rural industries, and to sea

and inland fisheries," and, of indirect aid to these objects and also to town manufactories and commerce, through education—a term which must be interpreted in its widest sense. In short, the work of the Department extends into every phase of Irish life, and has a most beneficial effect throughout the country. It teaches self-help first, and secondly it puts the people themselves in practical control of their own interests and helps them to greater activity and success.

While the Department just noted was being projected, another move for Ireland's betterment was occupying the attention of the Prime Minister and Parliament. Home Rule had been badly defeated, and there seemed little hope to those in power for a measure of that kind; but there was hope for a different kind of Home Rule, that would fit into, or help in giving administering machinery to, the Congested Districts Board and the Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction in Ireland, and, therefore, the Local Government Bill of 1908 was passed. In all efforts for constructive legislation it would be difficult to find anything better than these Laws, which not only met the pressing needs of the hour, but also established an order for the ruling of different districts of Ireland by the people according to their wishes, and the developing of home resources by the people's skill, strength and money.

The Local Government Act made a complete

change in the government of Ireland, and legislated out of existence the old system of Grand Juries which had obtained for nearly three hundred years, replacing it by a system of Local Government similar to that in operation in England. Nomination to office was generally speaking put to an end, and election substituted. Local Boards, County, Borough and District Councils were set up, and the people were given complete control of local matters, such as taxes, schools for technical instruction, laborers' cottages, roads, bridges, poor law matters, the election of guardians, dispensary doctors, nurses, magistrates, and the representatives on the various boards called into existence by the Act. This Act gave the people practically the same kind of Local Rule that England, Wales and Scotland enjoyed, and they are using its provisions according to their own wishes. It can no longer be said that they did not select their Town, County and District officers, for under this Act no one else has any right to do so.

The Act did not come into existence without some opposition, however, especially from the Northern Unionists, who protested that if the Nationalists—who had the majority vote, of course—secured charge in local matters, the Unionists would be put out of office, and their interests would not receive fair representation. Mr. John Redmond tried to assure these Northern objectors "that the Nationalists would use all their power and influence to see it worked in a spirit of toleration, and of justice to all creeds and

classes, and he promised the minority a fair, and even a generous share of representation on the new bodies;" but, as events turned out, this platform was not put into effect to the satisfaction of the Unionists generally, who point out that, except in Ulster, where there is a slight majority in favor of the Unionists, in Munster, Leinster and Connaught there were only 15 Unionists in the 24 County Councils, while there were 684 Nationalists. Of course, this is the result of the working out of Local Government by the people themselves, who alone are responsible for their choice in such matters; but it has given the Unionists greater strength in their opposition to Home Rule, as they point to Local Government Elections, as samples of the treatment which would be accorded them under a larger Home Rule policy. Many Irishmen, some of them Nationalists, greatly regret that the Unionists were not given a larger representation by the people when putting the provisions of the Local Government Act into operation, if for no other reason than to show the Unionists that their fears of old were not well grounded; but now the Unionists say, "See what treatment is given us by Local Government, and we believe that under Home Rule our treatment would be even worse."

Sir Horace Plunkett has this to say on the subject: "To the great vista of useful patriotic work opened up by the Act of 1898, to the impression that a proper use of that Act might make on Northern opinion they (the Nationalist leaders) were blind," and, he goes

on to say, "Under any system of limited Home Rule questions would arise which would afford much the same sort of justification for the employment of such methods, and they could hardly be worse for the welfare of the country than they are now"—1904. This Act, like the Irish Convention which reported in 1918, gave Ireland a golden opportunity to work out her own problems without hindrance of creed or party, but, alas, as in the case of the Convention, the golden opportunity was not embraced, and men settled down to a more determined loyalty to party and loyalty to men of their own creed than had been observed for many years. The working out of the Act of 1898, instead of bringing unity and peace to the whole country, has resulted in driving in the old marks of cleavage and in encouraging bitterness and distrust.

The matter of higher and secondary education has received a fair share of attention during the past fifty years in Ireland. In 1908 Mr. Birrell introduced a Bill into Parliament, known as the Irish University Bill, which brought University training within reach of the average man irrespective of creed or party. Previously there had existed in Dublin, since 1591, Trinity College, with a wonderful history of ups and downs, but for nearly two hundred years its doors were practically closed to Roman Catholics. When about 1850 Queens University was formed in Dublin, and Queens Colleges in Belfast, Cork and Galway, the Roman Catholic people did not look favorably upon them, although they were open to all

comers, and consequently they were not used by a great majority of the people. The College in Dublin gave place duly to another, the Royal University, which continued its work until Mr. Birrell's Bill of 1908. Under the new law Trinity College remained as heretofore, Belfast College was placed on a special basis, and Dublin, Cork and Galway Colleges were grouped together as the National University of Ireland. Each of these three Colleges is independent of the others, while a Senate, composed of representatives of each and chiefly Roman Catholics, govern their general policy. With these three Colleges Maynooth has been affiliated, so that in fact there are four distinct Colleges in the National University system. For the endowment of this University the British Government provides £74,000 per year, and provided £170,000 for building and equipment. It is scarcely necessary to state that in the National University no religious tests obtain, although the directing power is almost entirely in the hands of Roman Catholics. One of the subjects required in entrance examinations is the Irish language.

In 1831 the Board of National Education was established after a select committee of the House of Commons had reported that it is "of the utmost importance to bring together children of different religious persuasions in Ireland for the purpose of instructing them in the general subjects of moral and literary knowledge, and providing facilities for their religious instruction separately when differences of

creed render it impracticable for them to receive religious instruction together.” The plan did not suit any party, owing to the religious provision; and the whole system of primary education was condemned by a Commission, and by individuals, as late as 1896. Under the Intermediate Education Acts of 1878 and 1899, twelve persons, six Roman Catholics and six others, were appointed a Board to administer the interest on the £1,000,000 given from the funds of the disestablished Church of Ireland, as grants to schools whose scholars attained a certain proficiency in public examinations conducted by members of the Board. This plan, too, is unsatisfactory to a large number, who promise to do away with the whole system of secondary education if ever they have an opportunity. Speed the day; for many believe that while the present system has done a great deal of good, it is possible to have a more advantageous system put in its place. After this system of elementary education was inaugurated the Irish language seemed to fall into disuse. In 1911 only 16,000 people were reported as speaking only that language. Mr. Douglas Hyde, who has done so much toward bringing the Irish language again into use, has this to say on the subject, “The killing of the language took place under the eye of O’Connell and the Parliamentarians, and, of course, under the eye and with the sanction of the Catholic priesthood and prelates.” It is also worthy of note that the Irish language had been taught in the schools from 1879, and that a special premium is

now paid to the teachers of this subject at the rate of ten shillings for each pupil, just twice as much as is paid for the teaching of Latin or music. Since 1901, “£12,000 per year has been paid for Irish teaching directly from Imperial funds . . . . Taking the direct expenditure on elementary education alone, the State has paid for Irish teaching since 1879 a sum of no less than £209,000.”—See T. W. Rolleston’s “Ireland and Poland; a Comparison.” The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, has accomplished much in popularizing the Irish language, literature, art and music. Its principles are non-political and non-sectarian; and to its chief sponsor, Mr. Douglas Hyde, the whole Irish people are deeply indebted. In writing of this movement, one of Ireland’s devoted sons has stated, “I believe that by awakening the feelings of pride, self-respect, and love of country, based on knowledge, every department of Irish life will be invigorated.”

## CHAPTER VI

## HOME RULE AND THE 1916 REBELLION

“Home Rule” and Parnell.—The Gladstone Bills, and Opposition.—House of Lords disciplined.—The Asquith Bill, 1910, and Ulster’s Pledge.—Sinn Fein’s Volunteers.—Ulster Volunteers.—Sinn Fein’s beginning; and attitude toward the Home Rule bill.—Sinn Fein and the War.—Sir Roger Casement and Germany.—Destruction wrought by 1916 Rebellion.—Redmond’s Volunteers.—Mr. Asquith’s visit, and payment for damage.—The Effect of the Rebellion in the Empire; in Ireland; and in Germany and Austria.—Arguments for Home Rule, and the appeal to President Wilson.—The Ulster rejoinder, and arguments against Home Rule.



THE term “Home Rule,” first applied in 1874 to the independence that Mr. Isaac Butt sought, has since been broadened and used so as to define complete separation of Ireland from the British Empire. Mr. Isaac Butt determined to secure semi-independence for Ireland by bringing a resolution to that effect before every session of Parliament; but this method did not satisfy the majority of his party, and he was soon succeeded in leadership by Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, who had a larger idea for Ireland which he disclosed in the words, now inscribed on his monument in Dublin, “No man has a right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation: no man has a right to say to his country, ‘Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.’ We have never attempted to fix the *ne plus ultra* to

the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall." With a view toward securing a hearing for Ireland in Parliament, Mr. Parnell adopted a different plan from Mr. Butt's, when he inaugurated an "obstruction" policy, which meant talking against time on every matter that came up for discussion, and thus wearying Parliament and preventing the speedy passage of proposed laws. In 1879—the year of Mr. Parnell's rise to leadership—the Land League was formed, which, by boycotting and threatening, shooting and maiming, aimed to enroll the people in a solid body against the payment of rents under the systems then obtaining. After much violence and destruction had resulted from the formation of this society, the Government passed a "Coercion Act" by which they could deal with the offenders and those who were "reasonably suspected." Among those who were arrested under this law was Mr. Parnell; but after a time he was liberated, and the Coercion Law became a dead letter.

In keeping with the policy of the Government to help and conciliate the people of Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, who was sympathetically inclined toward Ireland, was sent over as Chief Secretary, with Mr. Thomas Burke as Under Secretary. On the 6th of May, 1882, these two gentlemen were murdered in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. The whole world condemned the cowardly crime, for which the assassins were eventually punished, and for which the country was again treated to Coercion Law. In the same

year Mr. Parnell organized the Irish National League, for the advancement of Home Rule and the tenants' desire to own the land.

Mr. Gladstone, who had gone out of office in 1885, was returned to power by the General election of 1886, and soon proposed the granting of Home Rule to Ireland. The Bill which he introduced provided for a National Parliament in Ireland, and no representation in the British Parliament, which accorded with the desires of most of the Irish Nationalists, but did not meet the wishes of all the Liberal-Gladstonian Party. A defection soon came; and those who objected to a separate Irish Parliament became a new party—Liberal Unionists. The Conservative party then received the support of the Liberal Unionists, with a result that the Bill was defeated, and the Liberals were turned out of office. Then came the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, which meant the withholding of rents, if the landlord failed to accept what the tenants considered a fair amount, and, like similar plans, brought boycotting and lawlessness in its train. This condition was met by a Crimes Act, by which offenders were haled to court and punished. The Land League was soon suppressed, and several leaders were arrested and sent to prison.

Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill was brought before Parliament in 1893. It differed from the former one in that Ireland was not to have an independent Parliament, but a Parliament for home matters and a fair representation in the British Par-

liament. These provisions made it more acceptable and secured a majority vote for it in the House of Commons. The House of Lords, however, rejected it by an overwhelming majority and in so doing recognized the tremendous opposition that had been offered to its enactment, and also to the enactment of the one of 1886, by almost all non-Roman Catholics in Ireland.

In 1886, the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, two archbishops, ten bishops, two hundred and eight clerical and four hundred and sixteen lay delegates, representing over 600,000 through Ireland, passed resolutions against Home Rule, as they thought it would be injurious to political and religious liberty. The Primate, the late Dr. Alexander, discounted in fiery eloquence, the "assurances" and "guarantees" spoken of by the supporters of the bill, and stated, "It is the thing, not the name, we object to. Our gorge rises at the tartar emetic, though the Doctor soothingly calls it antimonial wine. We desire to remain an integral part of an imperial people. We and our fathers have lived under the shadow of a great tree, the stately growth of a thousand summers. We will not exchange it for a place under a tree which sophists and experimentalists have taken a fancy to plant head downwards, whose sure fall will crush us amidst the inextinguishable laughter of the world." The General Synod of 1893 condemned Home Rule, in equally strong language. The Presbyterians of Ireland, numbering 560,000, objected to Home Rule,

as did 61,000 Methodists, and thousands of others belonging to different religious bodies—other than Roman Catholic. Of course, there were a small number of Roman Catholics opposed to Home Rule, as there were a small number of non-Roman Catholics in favor of it; but, on the whole, Home Rule whenever brought to the front has separated Ireland according to the religion of the people—the Roman Catholics on one side and the non-Roman Catholics on the other. With those who opposed Home Rule were the following distinguished bodies: Dublin Chamber of Commerce, Belfast Chamber of Commerce, Dublin Stock Exchange, Belfast Linen Merchants' Association, Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, the Senate of Dublin University, and representative men in every department of business enterprise. The country remained in a very unsettled state; and, while the late Mr. Redmond, the Nationalist leader, backed up by the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the United Irish League, relaxed no effort both in Ireland and America, looking toward the enactment of Home Rule, the Unionist Party were equally active in taking steps to combat the next move in that direction. In the meantime the government, and others, were directing more attention to the unhappy state of Ireland, and were doing everything possible to relieve the poverty and wretchedness of the country. Some of the measures adopted to that end have received attention in the preceding chapter.

During the General Election of 1910, the question of Home Rule for Ireland was again brought forward, and Mr. Asquith promised that, in case the Liberals should be returned to power they would grant it. This statement was not made, however, until two-thirds of the candidates had been elected. The political affiliations of the members when Parliament convened were as follows: Liberal, 272; Labor, 42; Nationalist, 84; Unionist, 272. From these figures it is clear that the Liberal Party needed, besides the Labor vote, the Irish Nationalist vote to remain in power. The balance of power, therefore, held by the Irish members told greatly in the laws that followed.

The Parliament Act, by which the House of Lords ceased to hold the veto of any act of Parliament that had, within two years, during three successive sessions, thrice passed in the House of Commons, came into operation in 1911, as a disciplinary measure for the House of Lords who had disapproved of the 1893 Home Rule Bill. By this measure, and the holding of the balance of power, the Nationalist Party believed that nothing could prevent them from having a Home Rule measure passed, except, possibly, the refusal of the Liberals to carry out their pledge, and lost no time in preparing the desired law. On the 11th of April, 1912, a new Home Rule Bill was brought before the House of Commons, conferring almost total independence on the two houses of the Irish Parliament—to be created; and making pro-

vision for a representation of forty-two Irish members in the British Parliament. A definite and generous financial plan for Ireland's welfare was also contemplated; but, strange to say, the Bill was not received with favor by any political party in Ireland. The Nationalists, led by Mr. William O'Brien, disapproved of it, the All-Nationalist Central County Council condemned it, and the Unionists flatly refused to accept it. The Northern Unionists, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, pledged themselves to do everything to prevent its enforcement, and began immediately to form an organization bound by a solemn covenant, "to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland, and in the event of such a parliament being forced upon us . . . to refuse to recognize its authority." Few know how many enrolled in this society, which afterwards became known as the Ulster Volunteers—of whom a large number joined the Ulster Division on the declaration of war and went to France and Flanders, where they gave a good account of themselves; but everyone who reads the newspapers knows that drilling and arming went on quickly, in preparation for any act that would compel them to separate from the United Kingdom.

In 1913 the Sinn Fein, too, decided to organize a body of young men who should be equal to the Ulster Volunteers and on whom they could depend if need arose. Accordingly there came into existence the National Volunteers, who drilled and armed openly

without fear or molestation, and funds for the movement came from all parts of the country and from America. The late Mr. John Redmond took cognizance of the affairs of the National Volunteers at this juncture, and, while he had had no connection with the Sinn Feiners who directed the Volunteers, decided to have a voice in their government, hoping, doubtless, to check the revolutionary tactics for which the leaders were noted. He applied to the "Provisional Committee" to have twenty-five of his supporters admitted to the board of directors, and, while his demand was resented, after much discussion his representatives were duly admitted. The Volunteers increased in numbers, secured arms by every means possible, and it is estimated that about one hundred thousand men had been enrolled by July, 1914.

The outbreak of the great war seemed to obscure all other issues, and the interest of Parliament and the British Empire was at once centered upon the duties then forced upon them. The Home Rule Bill passed through the requisite channels and duly received the Royal assent, but it was not to come into effect before six months after the end of the war, when an Amending Bill regarding Ulster's future should accompany it. The Ulster Volunteers, no longer thinking of Ulster in particular, but of the world in general, offered their service to the Government, which was accepted, and they were sent across the sea to stem the tide of destruction and to hold the enemy at bay until England should be in a position

to supplement their efforts. There is no greater testimony to the courage and sacrifice of these men than that borne in "The Case for Ireland Re-stated," page 33, by one who never had any sympathy whatever with the Ulster Volunteers. After quoting Sir Edward Carson's words when bidding them good-bye on their departure for service abroad: "Go out and win glory for Ulster," he goes on to say, "that is just what they did do, for no country ever yielded to the supreme sacrifice a braver set of men than these same Ulster Volunteers proved themselves to be in the great world war."

The late Mr. John Redmond then offered the service of the National Volunteers, to be used in defending Ireland from a foreign attack, but not to be used out of the country. This offer for obvious reasons was not accepted by the Government. It must be noted that the offer of home service for the National Volunteers and Mr. Redmond's subsequent activity in recruiting did not come, until he had secure the passage of the Home Rule Bill by Parliament and the approval of the King. Mr. Redmond felt, and urged upon Parliament, that, if Home Rule were given to Ireland then, all Ireland would unite and show their loyalty and appreciation by helping the Empire to the utmost of their ability in the war. Although Mr. Redmond and many of his party leaders at this time came out boldly for voluntary enlistment of Irishmen, and stumped the country, with gratifying results, in aid of recruiting, yet some of the leaders of the National

Volunteers evinced an antagonistic attitude, with a result that a split occurred, and part held to the original leaders and part held to Mr. Redmond. Those who followed Mr. Redmond's leadership became known as the *Irish* Volunteers, who in later days stood firmly by the government.

The "Sinn Fein," meaning ourselves alone, which was a Young Ireland Movement, began in a most laudable way about fourteen years ago, and soon drew to their support men of various political leanings and of many forms of religious belief. They succeeded because in the early days they laid emphasis on Ireland's possibilities in industry, Ireland's history, Ireland's language and tradition; and they proclaimed that it was possible through a right use and appreciation of all that Ireland possessed to make her a happy and successful nation. This platform of guiding principles was not necessarily new; long before Irishmen with prophetic vision had seen and advocated the possibilities of Ireland, if her children would only make the most of them. Dean Swift's effort along this line met with little encouragement, but the effort of the Gaelic League and other societies has succeeded to a great degree, and the educational work undertaken by them has already had most helpful results. After a brief time the Sinn Fein laid less emphasis on educational work and more emphasis on political affairs. Fault was found with the Imperial Parliament, and ridicule was aimed at those Irish representatives who attended its sessions and accepted

the salary given for such attendance. Suggestions were made that Irish Consuls representing Ireland should be sent to the large ports of the world, and that Ireland should cut herself free from outside interference and make her own way in the world. The Sinn Fein soon had a newspaper of their own, in which their teachings and aspirations were set forth, and in which England received no small amount of unfavorable mention. The Sinn Fein started a bank, and some of their followers were elected to the Corporation of Dublin. The Sinn Fein became more and more a puzzle to all the political parties in Ireland, receiving only scant recognition from any of the old established parties; and, while their growth was slow but sure, little attention was given to them or their methods in the daily newspapers for many years.

When the 1912 Home Rule Bill was being pushed through Parliament, the Sinn Fein seemed rather desirous of accepting it and making it also acceptable to their fellow countrymen in the North, but their plans to this end came to nothing. When the war came, however, the Sinn Fein got a larger view of what they should have, and they now hoped that through the war they would come into their greatest desire, the complete separation of Ireland from the Empire. From this goal, then decreed, they have not swerved.

When there appeared to be little hope of their attaining this goal in the early days of the war, the Sinn Fein became distinctly anti-British and pro-German,

and their newspaper was consequently suppressed. On the other hand, the Nationalist party, and their newspaper, at the beginning of the war warmly supported the cause for which the Allies were fighting. In the meantime the Sinn Fein had taken other means of getting their views before the reading public, and continued one method after another to this end without any great interference from the Government. The Volunteers, too, who had held by the party, went about the streets in uniform carrying arms, and no one interfered with them. Then came the arrest of Sir Roger Casement, who had been intriguing with Germany for the invasion of Ireland; the sinking of the German vessel carrying arms for the National Volunteers; and, finally, the plan for open rebellion in Ireland, which began on the Monday in Easter Week, 1916.

The details of the 1916 rebellion are well known and need not be detailed at any length here. Anyone unfamiliar with that rising should read Mr. John F. Boyle's "The Irish Rebellion of 1916," which is an able presentation of the whole affair. It must appear, however, to the average mind that, while the rebellion took the world by surprise, the persons leading the movement never took any great pains to keep their desires to themselves and that they had worked out the plan of action with great care and ability. There was some hitch, however, in the date set for the uprising, for while Dublin was attacked on the Monday of that famous week, other parts of Ireland were not

openly captured until two and three days later. Dublin suffered greatly from the uprising, many persons were killed and many were disabled for life; some of the finest buildings were burned and others were almost razed to the ground; the loss in trade and money was enormous; and the loss of the friendship and support of those in the British Empire and elsewhere for Ireland's welfare cannot be overestimated. British soldiers soon took charge of the country, and in defeating the revolutionists received every support from the late Mr. Redmond's Irish Volunteers; and the Irish Republic, which had cast its flag to the breeze a few days before, ceased to exist except in the thoughts of its adherents. The Declaration of Independence issued by the leaders of the movement is a wonderful document, but unfortunately it links the support given by Irishmen in America with that of Sinn Fein's "galant allies in Europe."

Martial law was proclaimed after the outbreak of the rebellion. This gave the military authorities complete control of the enforcement of law; and soon the leaders of the rebellion were arrested, tried and punished. The stern measures used by the military in the suppression of the Rebellion were not approved by the Nationalist Party, one of whom suggested that there should be no more trials of the offenders and that martial law should be withdrawn. The feeling in Ireland became very intense, and Mr. Asquith announced in Parliament that he would go to Ireland to try to work out some plan of settlement agreeable

to all parties. Mr. Asquith did go to Ireland, and after a tour of inspection of the havoc wrought by the Rebellion and a series of conferences with various leaders in the chief cities, intimated that a solution of the whole matter might come at any time. The solution of the question of damages caused by the revolution, the only solution that came from Mr. Asquith's trip, was very acceptable to all concerned. It did unite them on that point. Why not? The British Government paid the very large damage bill, which, for damages, was based upon the liabilities to which any first rate insurance company would have been responsible had its insured property been destroyed by fire.

Immediately after the Rebellion in Ireland, public opinion in the British Empire and elsewhere seemed to hold the Government and their representatives in Ireland responsible for not having dealt with the matter before its results were felt, and as a result of much adverse criticism the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Wimborne; the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, and the Under Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan, resigned. At the same time the indignation of the loyalists against the revolutionists was to be found on all sides. Considering the favorable laws that had been passed for Ireland during the previous fifty years and the grants of money that had been made to her for one purpose or another, the great bulk of British people felt that the uprising in Ireland during a war which demanded everything that England could produce was the basest

kind of ingratitude and treachery, and many who had previously favored Ireland now turned their backs upon her and refused to listen to her claims. Englishmen pointed out that the Home Rule Bill which they had supported, instead of bringing Ireland heart and soul into the war, had actually helped to put Ireland in arms against the Empire; and that the exempting of Ireland from conscription, when England was forced to conscript her sons, simply gave Ireland an opportunity to harass the Empire in her most trying days. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, that had been doing so much for the cause for which the Empire fought, received the news of Ireland's uprising with the greatest amazement and disapproval.

A great number of the people in Ireland of all classes thoroughly disapproved of the rebellion, many of the Roman Catholic clergy condemned it, as did nearly all the other clergy. A resolution passed by Nationalists in New Ross on May 5th is worthy of notice:

“That we, the New Ross Board of Guardians, hereby, in the strongest possible manner, condemn the action of the Sinn Fein organization and citizen army in their outrageous, disgraceful and blackguardly conduct at present carried on by them in the rioting and looting in Dublin and elsewhere; and we as a Nationalist Board entirely dissociate ourselves with such disgraceful and unworthy scenes, the more so at a time when our Empire and our Allies are in-

volved in one of the greatest struggles for freedom the world has ever known: and we regard the present conduct as an insult to our brave and gallant Irishmen who have sealed the common bond between England and Ireland by shedding their blood on the battlefields of Flanders and other scenes of action. That we pass this resolution to show the responsible parties for the present crisis in Ireland are of the irresponsible class and so that the action of the loyal subjects cannot be misinterpreted by our Empire or our Allies. It is also resolved that we place implicit faith and trust in our able leader, Mr. John Redmond, and his party, and we unreservedly place ourselves in his hands, knowing full well that with the assistance of the Irish Party he will carefully and consistently watch over the interests of the Irish people so that by reason of the acts of these worse than Hun parties the whole Irish race will not be disgraced and branded as traitors. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Redmond, and all the Irish leaders."

The late Mr. John Redmond was terribly mortified by the Rebellion, which he described as a "wicked move," and "not half as much treason to the cause of the Allies as treason to the cause of Home Rule," and, "So far as Germany's share in it is concerned, it is a German invasion of Ireland, as brutal, as selfish, as cynical as Germany's invasion of Belgium."

The news of the Irish Rebellion was quickly flashed through Germany and Austria, where it was pointed

out that England would now surely lose the war owing to internal strife in Ireland, where a large army would be required to keep the country in line. It was also circulated in the enemy press that there were rebellions in South Africa and other British possessions, which would draw British attention and strength from the theatre of war to home defence, with a result that they must come into victory much sooner than they had expected. The Rebellion, beyond doubt, gave the enemy a basis on which to build a good story for home consumption, and soon the people were being taught—and many of them believed it, too—that the whole of Ireland was engaged in revolutionary war, and that Irishmen were volunteering for service under the German flag against the Allies.

The enemy press omitted to state, however, that the aid promised Ireland by Germany had not arrived, and that the cargo of arms intended for the revolutionists had been sent to the bottom of the sea by the British navy.

The chief arguments for and against Home Rule, as set forth by the chief exponents of each side, are worthy of consideration here. In the "Case of Ireland Re-stated," prepared by Mr. E. de Valera and the Mansion House Conference as their reasons for opposing conscription in Ireland and forwarded to the President of the United States, April 18, 1918, we have all the arguments that have been used in favor of Home Rule. After referring to Ireland's part in the American War of Independence, and the

passing of the Conscription Act for Ireland, "in the fourth year of a war ostensibly begun for the defence of small nations," without Ireland's approval, they assert Ireland's sovereignty and her right to self-determination. The various steps in Ireland's history that seem pertinent are mentioned, from the time Pope Hadrian IV.'s Bull, 1155, granted Ireland to Henry II. down to the present; and it is pointed out that during all the time of English sway, and especially since the Union, that Ireland has been severely dealt with, and that the 8th Article of the Treaty, as follows, has not been kept: "All laws in force at the time of the Union shall remain as now by law established, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require." It is stated that "the Territorial military system created in 1907 for Great Britain was not set up in Ireland," and that various naval and military acts were never extended to Ireland; that the privilege to bear arms in self-defence has been refused; that free speech has been hindered; and that Coercion Acts have embittered the people. It is pointed out how emigration, which was made possible in many cases through grants of money from the Government, has reduced the population, and that Ireland has been burdened with "increased taxation, stunted industries, swollen emigration and callous officialism" since the Union. The failure of the Government to carry into effect the recent Home Rule Bill, the valor

of Irishmen in the war, and the failure of the Irish Convention receive due notice. America's entry into the war, "because her rights as a neutral, in respect to ocean navigation, were interfered with, and only then," is referred to; and, it is stated that, "What Ireland is to give a free Ireland must determine." Reference is made to the oversight of the British navy along the Irish coast, to prevent aid reaching the enemy from this source, and of the effort of the man who tried to land from a German submarine on the West coast on April 12th last. The committee conclude with an appeal "not to be condemned for a determination, which is irrevocable to continue steadfastly in the course mapped out for her (Ireland), no matter what the odds, by an unexampled unity of National judgment and National right."

The Ulster people, led by Sir Edward Carson, took cognizance of the effort of the Nationalists to excuse their attitude toward conscription before "the bar of civilized, and especially American, opinion," and at a meeting held in Belfast on August 1st, 1918, issued an important rejoinder, which was forwarded to the President of the United States.

The reason for issuing the rejoinder is given as "The document (of the Nationalists) referred to would give to anyone not familiar with British domestic affairs the impression that it represents the unanimous opinion of Irishmen . . . This is very far from being the case." The minority represented by the signers, comprising from one-fourth to

one-third of the whole of Ireland, have maintained "that the same obligations should in all respects be borne by Ireland as by Great Britain; and it has caused them as Irishmen a keen sense of shame that their country has not submitted to this equality of sacrifice." It is pointed out that the present is not a time for discussing the faults of the past, whether well or ill founded, but a time for "whole-hearted co-operation against the common enemy." It is, however, noted that the reference made by the Nationalists to the part played by Irishmen in the American War of Independence does not give credit to Ulster, from which one-sixth of the whole Colonial population before the Declaration of Independence had gone as emigrants. Reference is made to Ulster's industries and to the importance of a continuance of the Union, as "under no other system of government could more complete liberty be enjoyed by the Irish people;" and it "regards wholly unwarranted the theory that our political status affords any sort of parallel to that of the 'small nations' oppressed by alien rule, and for whose emancipation the Allied democracies are fighting in this war." It is further stated that, whereas England has only "one member of Parliament for every 75,000 of population and Scotland one for every 65,000, Ireland has one for every 42,000 of her people." Reference is made to a speech made by the late Mr. Redmond in Dublin in 1915, in which he praised the whole conditions surrounding the Irish people, "who," said he, "own the

soil," and have "absolute freedom in local government and local taxation in the country. Today we have the widest parliamentary and municipal franchise: the congested districts have been transformed." As to self-determination, it is stated that it was the opposition of the Nationalists which "prevented the question of Irish government being settled in accordance with that principle in 1916. The British Government were prepared at that time to bring the Home Rule Act of 1914 into immediate operation, if the Nationalists had consented to exclude from its scope the distinctively Protestant population of the North, who desired to adhere to the Union." The Nationalists wanted "self-determination for themselves combined with coercive domination over us." Reference is made to the relationship existing between some of the signers of the Mansion House Document and Germany, and to the support given by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church to the anti-conscription movement. The document is brought to a close with a statement that no sacrifice is too great to "make the world safe for democracy," and "poignant regret that the conduct of the Nationalist leaders in refusing to lay aside matters of domestic dispute, in order to put forth the whole strength of the country against Germany, should have cast a stain on the good name of Ireland."

Other objections to Home Rule are equally important in the estimation of the minority in Ireland. Their objection lest their religious liberty might be

interfered with is practically stated in the following resolution of the Presbyterians in 1912: "We have no desire to coerce the consciences of our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen or to deprive them of any of their rights, civil or ecclesiastical, and we in turn most absolutely refuse to have our civil and religious liberties placed under their control." In advocating this, they point out that under the Local Government Act as the Councils now stand little representation is given to the minority, and that under a larger measure of Home Rule they would probably fare worse.

Another objection has to do with the possibility of Ireland's becoming an enemy base, in case of England's entering into war with any other nation. Ireland's history shows that in former days France and Spain and Germany actually attacked British power from Ireland; and in the future there would be no way of guaranteeing against a recurrence of those acts. In support of this contention the loyalists quote Admiral Mahan, who said some years ago: "The ambition of Irish Separatists, if realized, would be even more threatening to the national life of Great Britain than the secession of the South was to the American Union. It would be deadlier also to Imperial aspirations; for Ireland by geographical position lies across and controls the communications of Great Britain with all the outside world, save only that considerable, but far from preponderant, portion which borders the North Sea and the Baltic. Independent and hostile, it would manacle Great Britain . . . . The

Irish question, therefore, is vitally important not only to Great Britain, but also to the Colonies."

The argument is advanced against Home Rule that capitalists of the Unionist Party would withdraw their capital from Irish industries and invest it elsewhere, where stability of government would be an inducement; and, also, that many industries would be taken immediately from Ireland to England and Scotland. The argument that Ireland has as much Home Rule as England, Scotland and Wales has been touched on already. There are other arguments advanced, but these are of minor importance.

## CHAPTER VII

## ATTITUDE IN THE WAR AND THE IRISH CONVENTION

Army unprepared.—The Navy and Admiral Sims.—Volunteers.—Ireland's first aid to the Kingdom.—Her contribution.—Reasons for later aloofness.—Mr. Bonar Law's "Monroe Doctrine"—Conscription, and England's Labor Unions.—Anti-conscription in Ireland, and the loyal support of many.—Cork Red Cross work.—What Americans in Ireland did.—The Irish Convention's task.—Personnel.—Failure to agree.—Reports.—Sinn Fein and the General Election.—Note by two members of the Irish Convention.

HE great war found a large portion of the world almost entirely unprepared, although seers, soldiers and statesmen, here and there, described gathering clouds on the political horizon that portended conflict. To the appeal of Lord Roberts for national defence and war preparation the British Empire turned a deaf ear, with a result that in August, 1914, England had only a small army and comparatively speaking no war material. Before the war, Germany kept 26 soldiers for every 2,600 persons of her inhabitants, while the British Empire kept only 3 soldiers for every 2,600 of her inhabitants. The fighting force of the British Army in August, 1914, amounted to 250,000 Regulars, 200,000 Reservists, and 250,000 Territorials—or Volunteers, making the grand total 700,000 men to care for her whole territory and give

battle to any enemy. Of course, the British Navy have counted tremendously at all times, and never more so than in the memorable days of August, 1914, when they bottled-up the German Fleet and by their quick action then, and constant vigilance afterward, aided, in due time, by the Allied and American Navy, have kept the sea open to Allied, but practically closed to enemy, use. Just think of it, by the middle of August an Expeditionary Force of 160,000 men had been landed in France from England; and, of the 5,041,000 men who up to May, 1916, had enlisted voluntarily, no less than 3,000,000 of these had been taken to the fighting line in different countries before October, 1917. Admiral Sims, of the American Navy, did not overestimate the value of the British Navy when he stated, at a luncheon given to the American press representatives visiting Great Britain, "If a catastrophe should happen to the British Grand Fleet, there is no power on earth that can save us, for then the German High Seas Fleet can come out and sweep the seas. The British Grand Fleet is the foundation stone of the cause of the whole of the Allies."

The war, as stated, technically found the world unprepared for the gigantic struggle through which it had to pass; but it did not find the people indifferent to their citizenship or callous to the calls for aid from their brethren, who were in the first instance forced to feel the ravages and horrors that had been foisted on them under the name "war." The volunteers, 100,000 of them, who responded to Lord Kitchener's

call of August 8th, the 175,000 who responded a month later, and the 2,000,000 who, within a year, left England's shores for the fighting line, prove that the spirit was there, and that the people were prepared for any sacrifice asked of them. A like spirit showed itself all over the British Empire, as men rushed to the colors to do their best for the land of whose traditions they had always felt proud. This is not the place to expatiate upon the loyalty and prowess shown by every part of the British Empire in the trying days of the war, but it is proper to note the unanimity with which all parts of the Empire embraced the opportunity to do their best toward a speedy and conclusive victory. When the war broke out many Irishmen responded to the call of arms; several, men and women alike undertook different kinds of war-work and many families voluntarily adopted the system of war-rationing. Under the leadership of the late Mr. John Redmond, who had been assured that Home Rule would be put into execution by the government, several distinguished persons held meetings throughout Ireland in aid of voluntary enlistment, and the success of their efforts soon became evident on all sides. Irishmen did respond: and Irishmen did go forth to war with the zeal and determination for which they have ever been renowned, in the most trying days of the year 1914—and the following year. Why not? The war was theirs: their Parliamentary representatives had so decreed: their relatives in other lands were going

forth to preserve the world, and why should not they? It was the most natural thing in the world that Ireland should have come into the war at once; and what she has done toward winning the war may be learned to some extent from the following: In the "Report on Recruiting in Ireland," presented to Parliament on January 14, 1916, it is stated that before the war there were 20,780 Irishmen in the Army, 17,804 in the Reserve, and 12,462 in the Special Reserve, making a total of 51,046. Between the outbreak of the war and the ninth of October, 1915, including the men in the tenth, the thirty-sixth and the sixteenth new divisions, 75,293 Irishmen had joined the colors, who, with the 51,046 enrolled before the war, brought the total of Ireland's fighting strength in the army up to 126,339 men. A Department Recruiting Campaign was then organized to keep Ireland's now fifty-two battalions up to war strength, which resulted in the enrolment of an average of 1,063 men every week for seven weeks previous to December 18, 1915. It was estimated that, about this time, there were 416,409 unmarried men of military age in Ireland; and that 252,000 of these were engaged in connection with agriculture, which was counted as a public service. The report states "That the percentage of men between twenty and forty-five, per hundred acres of all crops in England and Wales, was 3.6, Scotland 3.1, and Ireland 6.8" from which it is reasoned that "a considerable number might be deducted without reducing the number of hands below the figure at which

it is found suitable to engage in farming in Great Britain." Between October 10, 1915, and January 8, 1916, 10,984 men had joined the colors, bringing the total enlistments in Ireland, from August 2, 1914, to January 8, 1916, up to 86,277. The pre-war enlistments, 51,046, added to this number give a total of 137,323 army men. Add to this number 5,100 serving in the Navy before the war, and 3,446 who enlisted during the war, and a total of 145,869 is obtained. Between January 8, 1916, and the close of the war, a period of almost three years, Ireland furnished only 32,350 to the army and navy, which brought her total contribution of men, including the 56,146 serving in pre-war days, up to 178,219. This number represents about three per cent of the Roman Catholic population, and about six per cent of the non-Roman Catholic population.

From these figures it is evident that up to the beginning of 1916 there was a fair response to the recruiting appeal in Ireland; and that from that time to the end of the war the response was by every standard pitiful and unworthy. Let us note a few of the reasons for Ireland's failure, especially in the last two years of the war, to put forth the best efforts of a united nation toward overcoming the Empire's—and the World's—foe.

It is generally understood that many in Ireland responded to the call to arms believing that the Home Rule Bill would be put into operation without great

delay, and this would have become operative, if the war had been brought to a close earlier, under the law already noted; but when 1916 came, and with it the realization of the impossibility of putting Home Rule into immediate effect the Irish people became more impatient, and interest in recruiting began to wane. The Government at this point made a strong effort to have the Irish people agree to some terms among themselves, so that the strain might be relieved; but the Home Rule which would have suited the majority in pre-war days was not now sufficient—the majority declined partition—and the Government felt that Ulster, whose interest and help in the war had not flagged, should not be compelled to accept an order of Government which, to her at least, was thoroughly distasteful. The Sinn Fein at this juncture mustered their forces, and, after agreeing with Germany on a plan of action, inaugurated a Rebellion in Ireland. Many who heretofore had stood aloof, began now to look upon the Sinn Fein with favor, and eventually decided to cast their lot in with the new movement of hate against England. The 1916 Rebellion was put down; but the Sinn Fein have grown until at present they have over seventy members elected to Parliament—who, owing to a condition of their nomination and election, do not attend at Westminster, however. Nor is that all; these gentlemen assembled in Dublin early in the year (1919) and proclaimed that an Irish Republic now exists, and disavowed all allegiance to the British Empire. The Government allowed the

meeting to take place, which was rather a surprise to those present, and certain persons were suggested as delegates to the Peace Conference, upon which their hopes and efforts were now centered. Efforts have been made to get the Irish case before the Peace Conference, by appeals to the President of the United States and to the people of America generally, but without avail. When Mr. Dillon threatened Parliament with this move, during the debate on Irish Separation early in November, 1918, Mr. Bonar Law set forth in unmistakable terms, which reminds one of the "Monroe Doctrine," the British point of view on this and like subjects. "I do not believe," he said, "that one man in a hundred in any part of Great Britain would tolerate the idea that Irish settlement is to be dictated to us by anybody outside the British Empire." To this doctrine the British Empire is pledged, and, needless to state, this doctrine is being respected everywhere.

The disturbance and agitation caused through these matters brought the old party difficulties to the front again, and made the outlook for anything like general Home Rule for Ireland very dubious.

The opposition to the application of the proposed conscription law to Ireland evoked a great deal of discussion both abroad and at home, and the representatives of Irishmen in Parliament succeeded in having Ireland excluded from its provisions. Mr. de Valera, Mr. Dillon, and the Mansion House Conference in their appeal to President Wilson objected

to the manner in which Ireland had been discriminated against, and excluded from the operation of certain laws passed by the British Parliament. They stated, "British military statecraft has hitherto rigidly held by a separate tradition for Ireland"—the charge is noted in the preceding chapter—but they might have added also, that, Ireland had been unfairly excluded from the law which conscripted England in 1916. There is no question that a large number of the Irish people have always disapproved of the "preferred" treatment accorded them by the Government; and never was that disapproval more plainly shown than in connection with the non-application of war laws and rules, operative in other parts of the British Empire, to Ireland.

Why was Ireland excluded from the Conscription law of 1916? We turn to the early days of the war, and note that even then a strong demand was made throughout England for conscription as the only fair method of calling up the country's men for active service; but this argument was answered by those opposed to conscription, who pointed to the numbers of young men who were showing their loyalty by "joining up" everywhere, and reminded those in favor of Conscription that old England was a free country as she had always been. We are not considering which method was best then—everyone knows now, nor are we mindful of the Derby Plan and its success—all we are interested in now is to what extent the attitude of England toward conscription in the early

days of the war affected the attitude of Ireland toward conscription later. Conscription was postponed in the early days of the war owing to the opposition that was shown in many quarters; and the Labor Party, above all others, really decided the question for England by a determined opposition. This does not suggest any question as to the loyalty of those men; far from it, for all the English Labor leaders that the writer has had the pleasure of meeting, both in America and in England, were loyal and true to the Empire, and every one of them had made great sacrifices toward winning the war. The Labor policy, however, resented the very thought of conscription either for the army or the industries connected with the war; and Mr. W. A. Appleton, Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions, in two pamphlets, one entitled "Labor and Compulsory Service," June, 1915, and the other, "War and Conscription," showed the dangers of conscription, as he saw it, to labor, to the country and to the war. In the first mentioned pamphlet he stated, "Has anyone counted the cost of applying compulsion to the working classes of Great Britain? . . . Have they ever calculated the effect compulsion would have upon the relationships existing between people and Government and between people and the crown; . . . Seven-eighths of our immunity from the troubles which beset other nations is due to the fact that we are free." In the second mentioned pamphlet he stated, "Pay the army properly, provide for its derelicts—this is

only justice—but let the people of this country remain free. If they are to be enslaved it matters not who are their masters, or under what flag they exist." There is no sounder Britisher in the Empire than the writer of the above, nor one, I venture to think, who is in closer touch with the laboring man and his needs and hopes, yet he felt that he was leading and influencing labor in the very best direction when he wrote the above. Other Labor leaders sounded similar warnings, and, consequently, conscription was not put into force in England until 1916.

When the 1916 Conscription Bill was before Parliament, the Irish Nationalist representatives opposed it on similar grounds to those which had succeeded in England early in the war; and, as in the case of the English objectors, strange to say, the government listened to the arguments, that Irishmen should not be compelled, and that the voluntary plan had not failed. This was most unfortunate for the war, and also for Ireland. If conscription had been decreed in the early stages of the war, for Great Britain and Ireland, notwithstanding opposition, it may be that the war would have terminated much sooner than it did, and Ireland in all probability would have accepted conscription without question and thus might have escaped the Rebellion and its results. Or, if Ireland had been included in the 1916 Conscription order, it is very likely that her sons would have responded to the call to service, and saved the country from the stigma of not having done her full part in the great

war. Ireland, if conscripted in 1916, would have held her place of honor among the nations of the world, and would have retained the support and good will of her children and friends in every quarter of the world.

After the events of Easter week, 1916, the support heretofore given to recruiting by the Nationalist leaders was virtually withdrawn, and while they condemned the Sinn Fein for the turmoil into which they had plunged the country, and, consequently, for endangering Ireland's chances of Home Rule from any point of view, they did little or nothing to allay the unrest and restore the former feeling of interest and partial co-operation in the war. Meanwhile, the Sinn Fein became more aggressive; and after the failure of the Irish Convention to agree on a policy, and the government's decision as a last resort to apply conscription to Ireland in the early part of 1918, lawlessness again broke out in Ireland. Many of the bishops and clergy of the Roman Catholic Church now entered into the movement to oppose conscription, and the Sinn Fein for the first time—as they had been rather anti-clerical in the beginning—received generally speaking the full endorsement of that church. The Mansion House Conference, in which were representatives of Labor and political organizations, decided to oppose conscription on the eighteenth of April; and on the same day at Maynooth College the Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church declared the conscription law to be, "an oppressive and inhuman law, which the

Irish people have a right to resist by all means that are consonant with the law of God." Anti-conscription pledges were issued by the clergy; speeches against conscription were made in almost every district; and many women pledged themselves not to take the places of those who might be forced into service. This decided, to a large measure, the fate of voluntary recruiting; and it helped to alienate Ireland's interest in the war. Who after these pronouncements dare speak in favor of conscription? Who dare encourage voluntary enlistment? The largest and most important political body, and the largest church in Ireland, had authoritatively and openly disapproved of the Government's decision to apply a law to Ireland that had been in operation for two years in England; and while these bodies did not directly oppose voluntary enlistment, yet a great many misunderstood the situation, and in pledging against conscription felt that they were pledging against voluntary enlistment also. This became very clear to the committee that later tried to encourage voluntary service.

The generally unsettled condition of Ireland during the last two years greatly helped to keep Ireland detached from the war. Rioting, destroying property, mutilating cattle, burning houses, and night raids for the purpose of securing firearms from those who were not in favor of the majority party, were quite common and kept the minds of all in a state of perturbation. A new German plot was also reported

to have been discovered in Ireland, and many political leaders and others chiefly connected with it were arrested quietly and removed to places of detention outside the country. Ireland, too, it should be remembered, was making a great deal of money owing to the war, and this helped to divert the attention of some from their duty to the country to their own material welfare. Credit, however, is due to many in Ireland for the noble and self-sacrificing work done by them in aid of the Allied cause, ever since the outbreak of hostilities. Apart from the willing service rendered by many men and women at various points of the war area, the willing and helpful service of men and women at home, in almost every district of Ireland, calls for the highest praise. If the majority allowed that golden opportunity for service to pass by without doing great things for their fellows and their country, the minority, on the other hand, never ceased to labor for the relief of the suffering and the steady prosecution of the task to which the Empire had dedicated herself. The loyal women of Ireland, as the loyal women of America, were to be found daily in their Red Cross work-rooms, in the hospitals, in the gardens, running automobiles and doing all sorts of work to help the Allied world toward victory and peace.

As an illustration of the kind of work done by those people, the following extracts from the 1917 Report of the Cork County Branch of the British Red Cross Society will prove interesting. This report is a fair

sample of the activities carried on in various parts of Ireland under the same auspices.

### “BRITISH RED CROSS SOCIETY

*(Cork County Branch.)* .

President, the Countess of Bandon; Vice-President, the Lady Barrymore; County Director, Arthur W. Winder, LL.D.; County Treasurer, Miss A. K. Gubbins; County Secretary, Mrs. Ada M. Winder; General Committee, Mrs. Sharman Crawford, Mrs. Doran, Mrs. Dowse, Mrs. Dring, Mrs. Emerson, Mrs. Hartopp Gubbins, Miss Maud Gubbins, Mrs. James Murphy, Mrs. Starkie, Miss Voysey, Mrs. Leigh-White, Lady Windle; Comforts Sub-Committee, Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Peacocke, Mrs. Winder. *Needlework Department:* This department was first opened in April, 1915, under the management of Mrs. Hartopp Gubbins and Miss Maud Gubbins. The year 1917 has seen an output of 20,269 garments—including work of allied branches. *Comforts Department:* The Sub-Committee of the ‘Comforts’ Fund have carried on satisfactory work throughout the year. They have received many generous contributions of eggs, fruit, vegetables, cakes, sweets, flowers, books, games, and magazines, which they have distributed amongst the wounded men in the Civil and Military hospitals. They have also received most liberal contributions of money. This has been utilized for the purpose of purchasing tobacco, cigarettes, pipes, and daily

papers, which have been distributed amongst the men, so that throughout the entire year each wounded man in hospital has received a regular weekly supply of 'smokes,' amounting in all to 235,738 cigarettes and 486 pounds of tobacco. A large number of the patients have also been provided with pipes, whilst every ward in the different hospitals has received each day copies of the Irish and English papers, and any men wishing to do fancy work have been supplied with materials by the Misses Chillingworth, Mrs. H. Longfield or Mrs. Winder. In addition to this the Christmas dinners of the men in the different hospitals were largely supplemented with such luxuries as turkeys, hams, mince pies, cakes and fruit. The following ladies assist the Sub-Committee in visiting the various hospitals: Mrs. Austin, Mrs. Charles Beale, Mrs. Broadley, Misses Chillingworth, Mrs. Conron, Mrs. Dowse, Miss Goldie, Miss N. Gregg, Mrs. Hartopp Gubbins, Miss M. Gubbins, Mrs. H. Longfield, Mrs. Pike, Miss Scott. *National Egg Collection Department:* This department, which is under the charge of Mrs. James Murphy, assisted by Mrs. T. A. Howe and Mrs. Fitz-James Murphy, was established in 1915, and the receiving depot, which is situated at 11 King Street, Cork, is open on Tuesday and Saturday mornings. Supplies of eggs for the use of our sick and wounded soldiers are regularly received in this depot, and are carefully packed and despatched, some to the Cork Military Hospital, some to St. Anne's Convalescent Home, some to the

city hospitals (in which wounded are being treated), and the remainder to the Central Depot, London, for distribution among the base hospitals in France. During the year 1917 the large number of 86,048 eggs was received and despatched."

The treatment accorded to the American Army and Navy men stationed in Ireland is well known. In many of the towns visited by the Rev. H. H. Pringle, who did excellent work for the Y. M. C. A. over there, he found that the people were entertaining the men in their homes, and altogether showing a decided interest in their welfare. In Dublin, several American ladies, including Mrs. E. C. Adams, the wife of the American Consul, and Miss Sinclair Egan and Miss Cecilia Egan of Rathgar, opened a club room off Grafton Street, where tea was served every afternoon, and newspapers, magazines and writing material were provided for American soldiers and sailors. Many availed themselves of this boon, and in the future America will have a new fount in which to draw for accurate information regarding Ireland and her people.

On the 16th of May, 1917, the Prime Minister addressed a letter to the late Mr. John Redmond, informing him that the Government were anxious to have the Irish difficulties adjusted if possible, and suggesting two methods of achieving that end; first, a "Bill for the immediate application of the Home Rule Act to Ireland, but excluding therefrom the six Counties of Northeast Ulster;" second, a Convention

of Irishmen "for the purpose of drafting a Constitution for their country . . . . which should secure a just balance of all the opposing interests." Ulster was willing to accept either plan. To the latter suggestion Mr. Redmond consented; and in due time a most representative body, known as the Irish Convention, were organized, and charged "to submit to the British Government a constitution for the future government of Ireland within the Empire."

The Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention states: "Invitations were sent to the Chairmen of the thirty-three County Councils, the Lord Mayors or Mayors of six County Burroughs, whilst the Chairmen of the Urban Councils throughout Ireland were requested to appoint eight representatives, two from each Province. The Irish Parliamentary Party, the Ulster Parliamentary Party and the Irish Unionist Alliance were each invited to nominate five representatives. An invitation was extended to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy to appoint four representatives; the Archbishop of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin were appointed to represent the Church of Ireland; and the Moderator of the General Assembly to represent the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Invitations were also extended to the Chairmen of the Chambers of Commerce of Dublin, Belfast and Cork, and to labor organizations, and the representative peers of Ireland were invited to select two of their number." Of these, only one County Council Chairman declined to accept the invitation. The Sinn

Fein Party declined, as did the All-for-Ireland Party, and the Trades Councils of Dublin and Cork.

“Subsequently, in addition to one member selected to represent the Trades and Labor Council of Belfast, six persons were appointed to represent various labor organizations, and fifteen other persons were nominated by the Government, making the total membership of the Convention ninety-five. During the course of its proceedings the Convention lost three of its members by death (Sir Henry Blake, Mr. Redmond and Sir Alexander McDowell), and two by resignation (Mr. Lysaght and Mr. Russell), which reduced the number to ninety.”

In calling this distinguished group together to work for Ireland’s welfare, and not for party aggrandizement, the Prime Minister, or his advisers, were perhaps influenced by the great achievements of that other body of distinguished Irishmen, already mentioned, known as the Recess Committee—who laid a broad and strong foundation for Home Rule and Industrial Development in Ireland. Doubtless those in authority believed that at last the sure and safe way toward a settlement had been discovered when Mr. Lloyd George called those ninety Irish gentlemen together, and handed over the baffling Irish problem to them with the injunction, “settle it among yourselves.” And here it may be noted that although the difficulty was not quite solved by the Convention, yet Mr. Lloyd George deserves credit for one of the master strokes of his career, in handing the whole matter

over to the people of Ireland themselves for solution.

The first meeting of the Convention took place on July 25th, 1917, and the last on April 5th, 1918. During the time they were in session the Convention decided not to give any information, as to their proceedings or the results attained at the different meetings to the public through the press; but when the findings were made public very few were astonished, as it had been predicted on all sides that no agreement could possibly be reached on the essential matters of that difficult question.

The president of the Convention, Sir Horace Plunkett, in the "Letter of Transmission," states that before completing the task assigned to them "every possibility of agreement had been explored;" but when it appeared that agreement could not be reached, the Majority Report, the Ulster Unionists' Report, the Nationalist Minority Report, the Note of the Provost of Trinity College and the Primate of all Ireland, the Note of the Majority of the Labor Representatives, the Note of the Earl of Dunraven and the Note by Southern Unionists were duly set forth. The Majority Report was ordered to be presented to His Majesty's Government by a majority of seven, 42 voted in favor and 35 voted against; while the Majority Report itself was adopted by a majority of fifteen, 44 voted in favor and 29 against. It was of this report that the President of the Convention stated, "Notwithstanding the difficulties with which we were surrounded, a larger measure of agreement

has been reached upon the principle and details of Irish self-government than has ever yet been attained.” From the Minority Reports one is inclined to feel, however, that the prospects of a satisfactory settlement were never very bright; and on the two questions most debated, Ulster and Excise, there never was any decided approach to settlement. The Majority Report postponed final action on Customs and Excise; and, “at the same time each party has put on record, in separate notes subjoined to the Report, its claims respecting the final settlement of the question.” The scheme of government recommended provided “a Parliament for the whole of Ireland, with an Executive responsible to it,” and control of internal affairs. Customs and Excise to remain under the Imperial Parliament and to be administered by a joint Exchequer Board, for the present: Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish Senate of 64 members and an Irish House of Commons of 200. Representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament to consist of 42 members.

The Report of the Ulster Delegates opens by protesting against the implication in the Majority Report “that a measure of agreement regarding Irish self-government was attained, which in fact was not the case, as is evidenced by the record of the division. The provisional conclusions on minor matters . . . . were strictly contingent on agreement on the vital issues. These were fundamental—and upon them no agreement was at any time visible.” The

Report reviews the situation in Ireland before 1914, and mentions that Ulster, through the Amending Bill, was to be excluded from the Home Rule Act; it also notes the willingness of Ulster Unionists to consider any plan making for the welfare of the people and the Imperial Parliament, and due mention is given to the part taken by Ulster Unionists in the war. Then, after dealing with various questions on which Ulstermen could not agree with the Nationalists, the Report states, "We regret that instead of proposals being made to remove our objections, the policy pursued by the Nationalists in the Convention strengthened our opinion that Home Rule would intensify existing divisions in Ireland and prove a constant menace to the Empire. Had we thought that the majority of the Convention intended to demand, not the subordinate powers contained in the previous Home Rule Bill, but what is tantamount to full national independence, we could not have agreed to enter the Convention." The Report points out that "a most remarkable situation arose in the Convention when a vote was taken on the proposals to adjourn the proceedings until an assurance was received from the Government that they would promptly take effective steps to restore law and order and repress outrage throughout Ireland. Fifty Nationalist members voted against that proposal, and thirty-three members, including the Ulster Unionists, voted for it."

The Report of the Minority Nationalists states that, "there has been no sure means of knowing how far it .

(the Convention) exhibited the mind and will of Ireland at the present time, even as regards the parties officially represented in it, nor any guarantee that its decisions, independently of suggestions made by the Government, would take effect in law. The Sinn Fein organization stood altogether aloof." Reference is made to the efforts of the Southern Unionists toward solving the problems; and to their determination to hold to the Imperial control of Customs, while the Nationalists as tenaciously held the opposite view. A "Dominion Parliament" is here advocated, although provision is made for Irish representatives in the British Parliament, and that foreign relations and imperial matters should still remain with the Imperial Parliament. The Report concludes with a plea that "Land Purchase should be completed on terms equitable alike to landlord and tenant: that the administration should be Irish, and that the full cost of Land Purchase, past and future, should be borne by the Irish Government, on the understanding that it is reckoned as part of Ireland's contribution to Imperial service. Happily, no serious difference of opinion has arisen in the Convention on the proposals framed by the able Committee which dealt with Land Purchase." It may be interesting to state here what *The Spectator*, London, of November 9, 1918, has to say on the Irish Convention. After paying attention to the Irish Debate in Parliament on the previous Tuesday, during which certain questions that had been asked by Mr. Samuel two years before, regard-

ing the attitude of Irish members toward Ulster, were quoted, it proceeds, "One thing that can be said about it (the Irish Convention) is that it gave no answers to these questions, or to any other of the vital points connected with the Irish problem. It was vocal on superficial, dumb on fundamental points. If we remember rightly, it was, indeed, unanimous on only one specific and practical point—a suggestion for increased grants to Ireland by the taxpayers of England and Scotland." It is worthy of note here, for it exemplifies, farther, the diverse opinions of the people regarding what they want, that, as T. W. Rolleston states in his recent work, "Ireland's Vanishing Opportunity," "only thirty per cent of the electorate actually voted for Sinn Fein" at the recent General Election. The Irish Convention concluded its work, and the President presented the Majority Report to the Prime Minister on April 9, 1918. This was a most serious time for the Empire and her Allies, as Germany was putting forward a stupendous effort to win the war, and was driving the French and English back, hoping soon to have Paris and the Channel forts well under control. On the other hand American soldiers were arriving in France in thousands, and England was calling up her citizens of almost all ages to help in the terrible battle that was being fought. On the very day that the Irish Convention reported, the Prime Minister announced in Parliament that conscription would be applied to Ireland. Then a new outcry against British Rule was raised in Ireland;

the Sinn Fein soon held their Convention and framed the appeal to President Wilson already mentioned: the Roman Catholic Hierarchy condemned the proposal of applying conscription to Ireland: anti-conscription pledges were taken by those who expected to come within the law: and a new era of lawlessness broke out all over the country. The Report of the Majority of the Convention now ceased to have interest for any section of the Irish people; and as for the people of the Empire, outside of Ireland, Ireland's claims and riotings during those terrible days of the war evoked nothing but disapproval and contempt.

The Note by the Provost of Trinity College and the Primate of all Ireland given here: "We have not found it possible to vote for the conclusion reached by the majority of the members of this Convention. It involves, in our opinion, either of two alternatives: (1). The coercion of Ulster, which is unthinkable. (2). The partition of Ireland, which would be disastrous. We have more than once put forward a Federal Scheme based on the Swiss or Canadian precedent, which might ensure a United Ireland with provincial autonomy for Ulster, or any other Province that desired it. This scheme would also be capable of being adapted to some larger scheme of Imperial Federation for the whole British Empire.

J. P. Mahaffy, Provost of Trinity College.

John B. Armagh, Primate."

The Convention failed in their efforts to "frame a Constitution for Ireland within the Empire" acceptable even to the members themselves; but they unwittingly succeeded in developing a larger and more tolerant insight of one another's views. If they did not achieve that unity of spirit which crowned the labors of the members of the Recess Committee, it must be remembered that they had to do with political matters chiefly, whereas the Recess Committee had to do with economic and industrial affairs.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE IRISH RECRUITING COUNCIL

Patriotic effort to ward off conscription.—Arduous work of the Council.—Newspaper accounts of two meetings in the Sligo Area.—Reasons for the failure of the Council to attain their goal.—Bishop Dowse on Ireland's Lost Opportunity.



THE disbanding of the Irish Convention, the determination of the Government to apply conscription to Ireland, and the anti-conscription movement, together with a decided unrest among the people, caused many lovers of Ireland the gravest anxiety for the future of the country. Many plans for solving the new difficulty were suggested; but most of them simply advocated the putting into operation of some of the old schemes of Home Rule, which already had been rejected by one or more of the parties interested, and, so, did not receive the approval of the people in authority. While preparatory arrangements were being made for applying the Military Service Bill to Ireland, a number of prominent Nationalists met in Dublin and decided to make an effort to win Ireland to the cause of the war, and thus to ward off the disgrace of conscription and to give the people generally their old status in the estimation of the world. The plan decided upon embraced an effort by Irishmen

themselves to secure among their fellow-countrymen a certain number of men through voluntary enlistment, which, although not in proportion to the eligible manhood, would obviate the necessity of the enforcement of conscription. These gentlemen brought their plan to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who on behalf of the Government promised to keep the conscription law in abeyance until October, and to help the committee in every way to secure the quota of 50,000 volunteers for military service. Accordingly, offices were engaged in the cities and larger towns; the whole country was divided into several recruiting areas; and military officers and others were sent from various points to assist the civilian committee. An advertising campaign was inaugurated; and a strong plea was made to all Irishmen to come to the support of the movement. Many men of all sections of the country and of different political leanings responded most willingly, and soon the work of the Irish Recruiting Council was known all over the world. It was a movement full of opportunity and privilege, and one that promised in its inception not only to secure the 50,000 men asked for by Lord French, and thus to ward off conscription, but also to unite the country in aid of the Allied cause, and to give the people of Ireland what they otherwise could not hope to receive, the prospect of the right of way to the Peace Conference.

Everyone interested in Ireland's welfare must feel grateful to the Irish Recruiting Council for the won-

derful effort they, and hundreds of others who co-operated with them, put forth in those trying and anxious days. There was no sacrifice too great for these, when Ireland's fair name and the future of the world were concerned. They traveled all over the country holding meetings, and pleading with their fellow-countrymen to come forward to the aid of the Empire and the Allies: they besought the leaders of different parties to encourage those who looked to them for counsel to come forward as volunteers; and they consulted those in authority, in the hope of securing their sympathy and co-operation. Statistics will never show what they accomplished: but some day their work will be appreciated by their countrymen and their names will stand out in history among the greatest patriots, for by their clear vision and consecrated service they have added lustre to the record of Ireland's achievements.

The following account of two recruiting meetings held in the Sligo Area under the direction of Captain Stephen Gwynn, M.P., President of the Irish Recruiting Council, and Major J. Murphy, Chief Recruiting Officer for that district, illustrates the kind of work that was carried on during the recruiting campaign, and the interest and co-operation of the people themselves. It is from the Sligo *Independent*, of Saturday, September 7, 1918:

“STRIKING APPEALS BY AMERICAN MINISTER, NATIONALIST M.P., IRISH OFFICERS AND LOCAL PATRIOTIC CITIZENS AT SLIGO.

Within the past few weeks the Victoria Hotel, Sligo, has been transformed into headquarters for the area comprising these three counties. A large staff of officers and N.C.O.’s are daily awaiting recruits for the different branches of the Service—the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and even Queen Mary’s Army Auxiliary Corps.

Major Murphy, Boyle, who has been one of the most successful recruiting officers in Ireland, and Lieut. Fagan are in charge of recruiting for the Army, while the Navy is well represented by Petty Officer Vernaw. The recording official is Lieut. Husband, and Mr. C. C. Dignan, Sub-Sheriff of Roscommon, is in charge of propaganda. Dr. Jones is head of the Medical Board. Another important officer is Major Newton. These gentlemen comprise the principal members of the staff, and each is doing his part to make this great voluntary effort as successful as it is possible for organization to make it. Indeed, it is an admirable staff.

The entire organization is under the control of Major Newton, who has been seriously wounded during the war. He is a marvelous organizer, and the right man for Sligo, because he is possessed of the qualities which go to make him a favorite with the people.

But there is one officer, namely, Major Murphy, who deserves particular mention. Since the commencement of the war he has thrown his heart and soul into the promotion of voluntary recruiting, and it is largely through his popularity that Sligo holds such a high place as compared with other centers for the large percentage of men which it has sent to the colors. Indeed, Major Murphy has been indefatigable in his efforts to encourage the young men to do their duty in this great crisis. He feels it is in the best interests of Ireland that the young men should come forward voluntarily.

On Tuesday a great voluntary campaign was inaugurated so far as this area is concerned, and continued throughout the week. During the coming weeks it is hoped to extend the campaign to every district of the area, and it is hoped Major Murphy will receive the co-operation of the general public and the speakers freedom of speech.

#### MEETING ON THE SLIGO FAIR GREEN, IMPRESSIVE SPEECH BY MR. J. J. NELSON, J.P. AMERICA'S OPINION ON IRELAND.

The first meeting was held on the Sligo Fair Green after 12 o'clock on Tuesday, and considering the setback which recruiting has received within the past twelve months, the meeting might be characterized as a very successful one. A brass band of the K.O.S.B., comprising some very young but excellent instru-

mentalists, having arrived the previous evening, paraded the principal streets of the town prior to the meeting. It being fair day, they attracted considerable attention, and on taking up a position in the center of the Fair Green they were surrounded by quite a crowd. After a short time Capt. Gwynn, M.P. for Galway, Rev. T. C. Johnson, of the United States, and Mr. Murphy, L.G. Inspector, accompanied by Major Murphy and other members of the local recruiting staff, arrived and mounted a large charabanc in waiting. Amongst the crowd a small group of young Sinn Feiners were noticed. However, it is only fair to say that they did not appear to be altogether hostile, and to the credit of the Sinn Feiners there was no organized opposition to any of the speakers.

On the proposition of Mr. Alex. Lyons, solicitor, seconded by Mr. John Keating, the chair was taken by Mr. J. J. Nelson, J.P.

### *How Irishmen Fought in the Days of Napoleon*

The Chairman said at that great crisis in their history they were assembled there together that day to hold a meeting in support of the great principles of voluntary effort in the war. Let them make no mistake about it. That meeting was not a conscription meeting. On the contrary, it was an honest effort to avoid the bane of conscription, and it depended upon the youth of the country at the present time whether they availed themselves of that fair and reasonable

effort that was being made to them to provide the small quota of 50,000 men from the millions that inhabited Ireland today. The efforts that were being made on behalf of voluntary recruiting were for Ireland's honor. He (Mr. Nelson) had been asked to preside at that meeting in the unavoidable absence of His Majesty's Lieutenant of the county, Major O'Hara. Therefore, he did not wish to intrude upon the domain of the speakers who would follow him. As chairman of the meeting he would simply announce their names, but he would suggest to them himself that up to the present Ireland reaped nothing but advantages from the war. Everybody that had produce to sell had the value increased three, five and sixfold, and associated with the question of voluntary recruiting, was the question of family honor. There were many men present long past middle life like himself—who, in their early years read the fiction writings of Charles Lever and John Barrington, which told them of the early years of the nineteenth century when the great struggle for European liberty was being made against the tyranny of Napoleon, that the youth of Ireland sacrificed themselves on the fields of France and Flanders, and also on the Peninsula. And was it to be said that in that tremendous struggle for European liberty the people of Ireland refrained from sending that small proportion of their manhood until they were taken from them? He urged every man present to take it home to himself that day, turn it over in his own mind, and ask him-

self the question—‘Is not the honor of my family at stake; or is it not my duty to send at least one representative out to the trenches?’ If he did so he would come to the conclusion that it was his duty to be represented in that great struggle, which was the greatest the world had ever seen. Concluding, he asked for a fair hearing for the other speakers. (Applause.)

### *Why America Did Not Enter the War Sooner*

Rev. T. C. Johnson, of Brooklyn, U. S. A., who met with a cordial reception, at the outset explained why he was there. He had not been sent from America to speak to theem; but the Recruiting Council, hearing that he was in Ireland, conscripted him. He was born and bred in Ireland, but he was able to tell them of America’s part in the war. First of all he wished to tell them the reasons why America did not come into the war at once. Since her earliest history America had the watchword (and it was a great watchword for every man and woman as well as a nation), ‘Mind your own business.’ America thought it was none of her business to get herself entangled with the business of Europe. She also said to Europe, ‘Mind your own business.’ America wanted to be free, and she remained out of the war to try and keep that watchword which had been handed down to her for over 100 years. There was another reason why America did not enter the war at once. That was in

the interest of the business of the country. America wanted to produce munitions for the Allies, and also food, in addition to Red Cross supplies and workers. At length she came into the war because her citizens had been assaulted and thousands sent to the bottom of the sea. They all remembered the people drowned off Cork Harbor. Some people told him they never could forget the sad sights they witnessed in West Cork, where women were washed ashore with their babes clasped in their arms. Think of the terrible *Lusitania* disaster. When the Irish heart was touched—and they couldn't touch the Irish heart more than by the brutal murder of innocent women and children—no sacrifice was too great. America wanted to be at the Peace Conference, so that she would have more power to mediate between conflicting nations, that was another reason why she kept her neutrality so long, although many of her people wanted to be in the war from the very beginning. Men, women and children stood up and pledged their loyalty to the cause of justice, righteousness, and victory. (Applause.) Men were eventually asked to serve, and a procession which marched down that great street, Fifth Avenue, in New York, comprised men from every nation under heaven. There were Negroes, Indians, Jews and Germans.

### *Crying to the Irish*

Here, Mr. Andrew Gaffney, who had traveled many lands, shouted out—'And Sligo men, too.' (Laughter.)

The speaker (continuing) said that was right. There were Sligo men, too, and not only Sligo men, but also men from every corner of Ireland. He saw that old green flag with its golden harp floating in the breeze on behalf of the Allied cause. (Applause.) To-day Irishmen were butted in the United States because the people of Ireland were not supporting the Allied cause to the full extent. They were crying, 'For God's sake, tell the Irish to come in and prove that they still believe in righteousness, justice, and equity for all men.' (Applause.) Referring to the gigantic efforts that were being made by America in the matter of men and ships, the speaker said they could count the former by the million and the latter by hundreds. He didn't care whether the censor heard that or not. They were going to keep it up until the Germans cried for mercy. (A Voice—'You have done it already.') (Applause.) Proceeding, the speaker mentioned the old 69th Regiment in New York, remarking that the sons of Ireland were in it.

Mr. Andrew Gaffney interjected—"There is a son of mine in that army."

### *Never Knew Defeat*

The history of that regiment, the speaker went on, had been decked with glory and honor. It was formed when the United States gathered itself together, and the best men from Ireland fought in it and won. Irishmen never knew defeat. There was

no turning back with the Irish when they set their face in the proper direction.

Continuing, the speaker quoted the opinion of Shackleton, the great explorer, regarding the splendid qualities of the Irishmen during his expedition, and referred to the part that they played under Wellington, who also had the Irish spirit. That great general drove the enemy almost into the sea because he had an Irish regiment. When America required the Irish they rallied to the colors. A Voice—‘And they have done it today.’ Irish people in America were very anxious that the people at home should support them generously. A Voice—‘It is only fair.’ They wanted the Irish people to come into the war with greater determination and vim than they had already shown, and take their places beside their Allies and fight for the independence of the world. Irishmen drove the Crown Prince’s Army across the Ourcq River, and they were not satisfied but followed after them. Concluding, the speaker produced a small flag representing the Stars and Stripes of America, and waving the emblem, remarked amid applause, ‘We will drive the Germans across the Rhine, and carry this flag into Berlin and hoist it upon the highest castle there.’

*Straight Talking by Capt. Gwynn*

Captain Gwynn, M.P. (Galway), said he was there that day to speak, not as a member of Parlia-

ment, but as a Connaught Ranger. He was also there that day because he was one of the one hundred thousand Irishmen who had volunteered to defend the honor of Ireland. If it had not been for that one hundred thousand men who had joined up they would have had conscription in Ireland years ago. What he was asking for was that men should come as volunteers and stand between them and conscription, for which the country was not willing. He was always of opinion that conscription should not be enforced in Ireland except by a Parliament of its own. That was one reason why he was always against conscription. However, he could tell them that those who advised them that they were not going to have conscription if the voluntary recruiting scheme failed were giving wrong advice. He told them in all honesty of conviction that unless the people of Sligo, Leitrim and Roscommon contributed their 1,600 men they would have conscription, and then there would be a greater number of men taken than from the three counties. Continuing, the speaker said let him tell them what day that was. It was the 3d of September. It might not mean much to them. But it meant a great deal to the Irish Division. That division went out in December, 1915, and for a long time they were engaged in trench warfare on the front of Loos. Some fine men died there. He had seen the bravery of Sligo men there, and better men he never asked to see. (Applause.) On the 3d of September, 1916, the division moved into the trenches in front of

Guillemont, which had been unsuccessfully attacked seven times by other regiments and other divisions. On that occasion the Connaught Rangers were in front. It was there one of the Connaughts gained the Victoria Cross. The next week the whole division came in and covered themselves with glory again in the battle of Ginchy. The Irish Division had won the admiration of Englishmen and of the Germans. Since then their ranks had been depleted, and what was true of Connaught was also true of Ulster. Therefore, he appealed to them as an Irish soldier to come voluntarily and uphold the honor of their Irish regiments. Proceeding, the speaker referred to American opinion on the war, and quoted the remarks of Cardinal Farley, who said: 'We are fighting for a principle. We want justice for all peoples. We are fighting that the great wrong may be righted, and the world made safe for all nations and for democracy.' He assumed there were Sinn Feiners at the meeting. They hoped to get justice at the Peace Conference. What did justice mean? (A Voice—'An Irish Republic.') Justice meant getting something they deserved. What did the Sinn Feiners deserve? If they had fought with the men at Guillemont they could go to the Peace Conference with a clear conscience and a light heart. But at the Peace Conference they will be told, 'You turned your backs on us.' Now, who was going to be the greatest power at that Peace Conference? (A Voice—'Germany.') 'Well,' the speaker replied, 'you are great students of the news-

papers down here. Any man who thinks that, let him read the papers for the past number of weeks, and keep an eye on them for the coming few weeks.' (Applause.) Proceeding, the speaker quoted the number of American troops on the soil of France and the number to be there by next year; that was how they knew victory would be on the side of the Allies. He knew more about Germany than those present at that meeting, and he did not want to see her destroyed, but he wanted to see an end of that tyranny. When they came to the Peace Conference America would be the dominant power, because she had the most men, the most ships, and the most money. It was from her Ireland would receive the most friendship if they fully shared in that great war. Ireland would only get from that Peace Conference what she deserved and no more. It was a business proposition for Ireland to stand by America. They could only clear themselves by contributing the men which were now asked for. Before conscription came he (Captain Gwynn) would be in France. He purposed being one of the 50,000 men now asked for, and he appealed to every Irishman present who heard from Rev. T. C. Johnson what America was doing, and from him as an Irish Nationalist and an Irish soldier, to volunteer at once and fight for the cause of the Allies, which was the cause of humanity, and, above all, for the cause of Ireland herself. (Applause.)

*Ireland's Duty*

Mr. H. Murphy, Galway, in the course of an excellent speech, said he had been on the recruiting platform a few years ago when Ireland thought it was her duty to answer the call. Why did she do it then? The cause was the same today. Their sons and brothers in the trenches were calling for them, 'Come, Sligomen, help us.' As Irishmen they were bound to answer the call and fight for Ireland. (Applause.)

*Tribute to Sligo by Major Murphy*

Major Murphy here thanked the chairman for his kindness in coming to preside at the meeting. He appealed to the young men of Ireland, and particularly Sligo, to justify their position. It was they who were responsible for running that voluntary recruiting campaign, and everything was placed upon their shoulders. It was their duty to go to every corner of that area and proclaim to the people that they wanted the young men of military age to come voluntarily and save the terrible stain of conscription. Having discharged their duty to the last degree, the blame would not be upon them as organizers. Perhaps at the present time the blame rested with them, they may not have done their duty properly, but at the finish of that campaign it would not be their fault if they were not successful. However, he appealed to the general public of all creeds and classes to co-

operate with him to make voluntary recruiting a success in Sligo, Leitrim and Roscommon. Owing to the splendid manner in which Sligo men had already responded to the call they were only asked to raise 1,600 men from the three counties. Please God, it would grow less every day. If the young men did not come to the meetings it was because their consciences were pricking them. He hated conscription, and he had always spoken of Sligo as one of the finest recruiting areas in Ireland. He had been there during the past four years, and received nothing but kindness from the Sligo people. However, he was only doing his duty to Ireland and the best interests of the country by appealing to the young men to come and fight by the side of the other great countries of the world to defeat tyranny. In conclusion, he heartily thanked the speakers and the people who had given them such a patient hearing. Any young man wishing to join voluntarily should present himself at the recruiting headquarters, Victoria Hotel, Sligo, where he would receive every consideration and courtesy.

Miss Morphy, of Greystones, Dublin, then made an impressive appeal to the women present for volunteers for the Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the chairman and speakers on the motion of Captain Perceval, seconded by Mr. Dignan.

The meeting concluded with the playing of the National Anthem.

VISIT TO BALLYMOTE FAIR. LARGE CROWD GIVE SYMPATHETIC HEARING. CAPTAIN PERCEVAL AND THE NEED OF IRISH REGIMENTS. TOUCHING SPEECH BY MR. DOWLING.

On Wednesday the recruiting party visited Ballymote. It was first arranged to hold a meeting at the Rosses Point, but it having been fair day in the town of Ballymote, it was decided that it would be more advantageous to go there. The anticipations were fully realized. There was a large fair, and many young farmers were present.

The band and staff left Sligo in a fleet of motor cars, and on arrival at Ballymote the band paraded the street playing martial airs. Subsequently a meeting was held opposite the Post Office, and a large crowd congregated. The audience were most sympathetic and listened to the different speakers with rapt attention. A feature of the proceedings was the selection of Mr. Dowling, Postmaster, as chairman of the meeting. No more popular gentleman could have been found, and his eloquent impromptu introductions and touching appeal were greatly admired.

After the meeting the members of the staff interviewed probable recruits for the different branches of the service.

Admirable arrangements were made by the Ballymote police for the reception of the band, and District Inspector Russell, who is in charge of the Dis-

trict, was indefatigable in seeing after the welfare of the entire party during the visit.

Mrs. Dowling, the genial wife of the Postmaster, and his daughter very kindly extended hospitality to Miss Morphy, the only lady of the party, who was looking for volunteers for Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps.

### *Touching Appeal by Mr. Dowling*

Mr. Dowling, Postmaster, on taking the chair, received a warm reception. In the course of his remarks he said that he was never afraid or ashamed to stand up and advocate voluntary enlistment, because he believed in his heart and soul that it was the only way to prevent the application of conscription to Ireland. Neither those present nor himself wanted to see conscription enforced, for he believed the Government didn't want to enforce it until they had given the young men of Ireland every opportunity of joining voluntarily. He did not belong to any political organization, but he was a true Irishman. He loved his country, and wished to see it prosperous, and everybody living in unity with one another. Therefore, he believed in the cause of the Allies. He was sure no real Irishman wished to have the Hun rule over them. God forbid that the Germans should ever have the control of Ireland. The only way to prevent them from desecrating their altars and ravishing their womanhood and murdering their innocent children

was by going and fighting. He had two sons fighting with the colors, and Major Murphy could tell them that he himself had also offered his services, but unfortunately the gray hairs were too numerous, and they wouldn't accept him. (Laughter and applause.) If the Lord called upon his two sons to make the supreme sacrifice, their mother and he would be consoled by the fact that they fought and died on behalf of a righteous and just cause.

'Whether on scaffolds high,  
Or in the battle's van,  
The noblest place for man to die  
Is where he dies for man.'

(Loud applause.)

Mr. Murphy, who was the first speaker introduced, made an eloquent appeal for men, and his remarks were well received.

### *The Test of America's Friendship*

Rev. T. C. Johnson, who was received with applause, created a great impression by the forceful manner in which he told of the great part America was taking in the war, mentioning the fact that an officer possessing the same name as the chairman was the first to cross the Ourcq River after the Germans with the 69th Fighting Irish Regiment of America. The speaker read a portion of an eloquent letter from ex-President Roosevelt, whose final words were—'*The test of our friendship for any nation should be that nation's attitude in the war.*' If the Irish people

now responded they would wipe out the disgrace which was pending upon the page of Irish history. (Applause.)

The chairman here mentioned that he had a son in the 69th American Regiment referred to by Rev. T. C. Johnson, and he hoped he wasn't far away from the officer named Dowling who was the first to cross the Ourcq River. (Hear, hear.)

Captain Perceval, Hazelwood, who had a hearty reception, spoke of the need of men to fill the depleted Irish regiments, and made a strong appeal to the men of Ballymote to do their duty, and save the good name of Ireland.

### *Branches of the Service Explained*

Major Newton, of the local recruiting staff, gave a clear explanation of the different branches of the service, and pointed out the many advantages and attractions they held out to the young manhood of Ireland.

Miss Murphy appealed for volunteers for Queen Mary's Women's Auxiliary Corps, which was formed for the purpose of releasing the men. The formation of the Women's Corps was a tremendous experiment—almost a revolution—because the Army was the most traditional of all other callings. However, the experiment had been fully justified, and it was a great privilege for women to help the men who had

done so much for them. Women were useful as clerks, and for general domestic work. Their life was made as happy as possible, and the pay was good. Any girl wishing to join in Ballymote could apply to Mrs. Perceval, Templehouse, who had kindly offered her assistance, or at the recruiting headquarters in Sligo.

At the conclusion of the meeting Major Murphy returned thanks to Mr. Dowling for presiding."

The effort of the Council as far as securing the 50,000 volunteers between June and October was not quite successful, as only about 11,000 men had responded to that call to duty at the expiration of the time stipulated; but, in another sense, it was successful, inasmuch as it brought together in a common cause, and on the same platform frequently, those of different political affiliations who placed their country's welfare above party loyalty. If the movement had received the support of the different leaders who preferred to stand aloof, it might have gone a long way toward solving the question that nothing else had been able to solve heretofore.

The movement failed because the Nationalist Members of Parliament and other leaders, generally, refused to have anything to do with it—they were luke-warm—and neither helped nor hindered. If these gentlemen had thrown their influence that way, and had personally appealed to their constituents, the response undoubtedly would have been very great, and

the general approval would have given many who really wanted to serve their country in the war—but were afraid to come out boldly lest they should incur the displeasure of their representatives and of their neighbors—an opportunity to act in accordance with their desires. Such aid would have been far-reaching in its effects at home and abroad, and might have been a great influence in deciding the contests in the last General Election and a telling factor in favor of those Nationalists who then were displaced in Parliament. It was another golden opportunity that the country and the political leaders refused to accept; and an opportunity which, if accepted, would have resulted in changing the attitude of the people toward one another, and the opinion of the world toward the people of Ireland generally.

Another influence that helped to defeat the end the Irish Recruiting Council had in view was the attitude of the Roman Catholic Clergy and the Sinn Fein.

The anti-conscription pledge already mentioned kept a great number of young men from joining the fighting force at this time, as they believed that the pledge they had taken required abstention from military service under any circumstance. If the Roman Catholic Clergy and the Sinn Fein had given a little encouragement to those men, and had explained to them the difference between their pledge and the appeal made to them by Irishmen, they no doubt would have joined the colors in large numbers. As it was they remained apparently indifferent to the out-

come of the war, and to the calls of their relatives and friends who had gone out to the front from countries where conscription was regarded as the only fair way of achieving victory in the shortest time.

Again, another force that militated against the work of the Recruiting Council was the opinion that several people held and expounded regarding the conscription order. A large number of people scoffed at the idea that the Government would surely enforce the Military Service Bill in Ireland, if the required number had not been enrolled by the date stated, and so decided to wait and see. Why this idea had become so strongly rooted in their minds is a problem, in view of Lord French's promise that the order would certainly be put into operation if the condition agreed to between the Irish Recruiting Council and himself failed of fulfilment; but, fortunately, owing to Germany's reverse about this time, which quickly terminated in utter defeat, the reason for calling up Ireland's men ceased to exist, and Ireland was saved the humiliation of enforced service. With the passing of conscription there also passed Ireland's greatest opportunity to do honor to herself, in serving voluntarily with the Allied armies and winning with them the most important victory of all time.

The disappointment felt by many in Ireland at the failure of the country to do its best in the war was solemnly voiced by the Right Reverend Charles B. Dowse, D.D., Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, in his address to the Synod at their annual meeting

held on October 23, 1918, in Cork. After mentioning the valuable service that the clergy of his diocese had given to the country during the war, he said, "We are thankful for the timely and whole-hearted entrance of America into the war, and for the success that has attended the united efforts of the Allies during these past few weeks, giving assurance of complete victory if only we endure to the end. Our hearts are thrilled as we think of Palestine delivered from the desolating oppression of the Turks, and the restoration of freedom to the Holy Land. For these things we may, indeed, be thankful, and offer sincerest praise to Almighty God for the great things He has done by means of our heroic sailors and soldiers. And yet for us Irishmen there is one dark blot on the brightness around us. We, as a country, are largely standing aloof. The very greatness of the sacrifices endured by the Allies serve to intensify our shame. No doubt, there are many noble exceptions, and Irish sailors and soldiers have played a part second to none in heroism and devoted service on behalf of freedom and righteousness. But the fact that Ireland generally has refused to take her proper and full share of the burden must ever remain the measure of her degradation and disgrace. What an opportunity was given to the Nationalists of Ireland. Had they heartily and loyally espoused the cause of the Allies and sent the young men of this country to bear a glorious part in the fighting line in the defeat of oppression and tyranny, and the establishment of

truth and right, what demand could England have refused had they taken such a course as this? The realization of all their desires was at hand. As it is, it is hard to see how England can give fulfilment to the desires of a people who refuse her help, and by doing so aid and encourage her enemies. But, however Ireland may stand in lonely selfishness, thinking only of herself and her own petty grievances, in the midst of world-wide happenings and events that are calling for the co-operation of all the people of the earth, victory, sure, complete and far-reaching, is coming to the Allies."

## CHAPTER IX

## A SOLUTION

Present state: Prosperous, but unsettled—Exports and Imports.—Bank deposits.—Fishing returns.—Changing conditions.—Sergeant Sullivan, K. C., on lawlessness, and his appeal against crime.—Settlement desirable.—Unionists and Partition.—The Centre Party.—Irish Reconstruction Association.—Summary.—Proposed solution: Improvement of national education.—No religious education during school hours.—Unity, the most desirable asset.—Railway improvement.—Government co-operation to be given generously.—A Port in the West.—A Federal Parliament, for England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, with suitable safeguards for the Irish Provinces, the best plan today.—General Gough on conciliation.—The New Bill.



T the present time Ireland is one of the most prosperous lands under the sun: and her prosperity, which has grown steadily for the last hundred years, has been greatly accelerated by the past four years of world war. It does not fall within the province of this work to enter exhaustively into the various departments of economic and industrial development in order to show what advance has been made in each. Information of this kind is accessible to any who desire to study it in the various reports of the Government, and of the Societies whose home is at Merion Square under the guidance of Sir Horace Plunkett, although a few pointers may properly be noted here.

It has been stated already that, the population of Ireland in 1800, the time of the Union, amounted to about 5,000,000, and that forty-five years later the population had increased to 8,295,000. The present population is less than 5,000,000.

The total tonnage entering Irish ports before the Union—taking the three years before—amounted to 112,333, whereas in 1845—taking the three-year period—it had grown to 631,981. In the year 1910 the tonnage entering Dublin and Belfast, omitting the records of all other ports, amounted to 893,047. The value of Exports and Imports for the three years ending 1790 amounted to £7,660,971: in 1826, taking the three-year basis, this item had increased to £15,946,808; in 1836, on the same basis, the result was £32,731,910; and in 1910, one year only, the Exports and Imports amounted to £130,888,732. In 1913, the Exports amounted to £73,877,389, and the Imports amounted to £74,467,283, a total of £148,344,672. In 1916 the Exports amounted to £107,171,017, and the Imports amounted to £105,205,416, making a total of £212,376,433.

The deposits in the Joint Stock Banks in 1851 amounted to £8,263,000: in 1890 the amount was £33,061,000, and in 1910 £52,505,000. The amount in Post Office Savings Banks in 1870 was £583,165: in 1888, £3,128,000 and in 1909, £11,187,000. At the present time the amount of money deposited in Banks and Post Offices in Ireland amounts to about £125,000,000. Here it is worthy of

note that, from 1845 to 1912 the population had decreased 3,500,000, and that the land under cultivation had decreased by 1,500,000 acres.

The Railways of Ireland are another indicator of the progress of the country. In 1842 the receipts from the fourteen miles then in operation amounted to £57,000: in 1890 the receipts from 2,643 miles amounted to £3,042,000: in 1909 the receipts from 3,391 miles, amounted to £4,335,368: and in 1913 the receipts from 3,410 miles amounted to £4,659,-283. Reports of the war period are not accessible.

The fishermen of Ireland during the year 1918 realized on their sales of fish about £1,000,000. In Baltimore it was not unusual for the local bankers to distribute from £4,500 to £6,000 per week to the fishermen who made that port their chief market during the summer. Much of this money, however, did not find its way to the banks or general circulation, but was hoarded up and even buried for safe keeping. A number of policemen when searching Cape Clear—where many fishermen live—and digging up freshly disturbed earth in hope of finding concealed and forbidden firearms, discovered hundreds of pounds in gold and other currency. In one instance, £600 in gold were brought to the bank, as a result of the diligence of the police in digging near a residence. No wonder that Cape Clear is now known as “Treasure Island.”

As the prosperity of Ireland commands the attention of all interested in the Irish situation, so must

the present state of the country. In no period, perhaps, of Ireland's life has the general disaffection of the people attained such proportions. History is quickly made sometimes; but hardly ever has there been so much pressed into so short a time as in the case of Ireland during the first eight or ten weeks of 1919. A Sinn Fein Republic has introduced itself to the world; some of the leaders of the "German plot" have been released from gaol; efforts to get Ireland before the Peace Conference have been many, far off and near; two new political parties have come into existence: and a society for looking after Ireland's welfare everywhere, including Westminster, has been formed. No one pretends to know what will happen as a result of all this.

The present frame of mind of most of the country and the recent lawlessness, and murders in Tipperary, have caused one of the most respected leaders of the Nationalist Party—who, by the way, as legal adviser, defended the late Sir Robert Casement, and also signed the anti-conscription pledge—Sergeant A. M. Sullivan, K. C., to send a letter to the Press from which the following extracts are taken:

"The condition of affairs revealed by the circumstances connected with the Tipperary murders shows that the advocates of Christianity in Ireland have very little time left to organize for their own preservation. The episode itself was the natural development of the brutalizing and pagan creed that, for the past three years, has been proclaimed as 'patriotism' in Ireland,

while those who should have refuted it have sat in cowardly silence. Base and degrading as this crime is, it is but one symptom of the moral disintegration of our nation. The orators who last Sunday praised or 'justified' assassination were doing no more permanent harm to our country than the preachers of the new doctrines of politics and economics, who defy all authority, moral or legal, and teach that, the triumph of violence is liberty and that anarchy and idleness are the guardians of prosperity.

Ireland is in the grip of a criminal confederacy of secret societies. Our youth are being taught that every breach of the law is a service to Ireland. Acts that are condemned by every Christian Church as murder or as suicide are openly glorified and held up for the imitation of our countrymen. Men are assured that by the destruction of employers and by the confiscation of property prosperity will be secured for a republic of 'workers' who need not work. This propaganda is in the ears and before the eyes of our people every day. What attempt is made to answer it?

The ignorant politicians are willing to profess a belief in anything that will make them 'popular.' The crying need of the hour is to rescue our youth from the criminal societies by organizing the Irish people in the suppression of crime. Every moral preceptor should summon up his courage to instruct his flock in their duty to help the Administration to bring criminals to justice. Those who have witnessed

should come forward and give evidence in truth and honesty. Magistrates and jurors should be taught to respect the obligations of their oaths. It is the cowardice of our people with regard to these matters that has enabled the secret societies to enslave them. Until the community has the courage to punish crime it must remain a community of slaves.

The matter cannot end there. Every educated man knows that the liberty and prosperity of the humble people depend on the practical application of the principles of Christianity to public affairs. It is as easy to teach this truth to our countrymen as it is for foreigners and half-breeds to teach them pagan lies. The man who cannot demonstrate that the burdens of crime and violence ultimately fall upon the shoulders of the poor is not fit to address any flock. The man who does not himself believe in the Gospel as the charter of true liberty of nations as of men is not fit to be a clergyman. There is no time to be lost. The danger must be met and faced at once. Immunity from spoliation and banishment can be purchased by silence very little longer. There is no institution that renders more valuable political service in the preservation of peace and order, and in securing the happiness and prosperity of the State, than the Church in which the poor have the Gospel preached to them. The silent pulpit has no defense against the pagan economist.

I do not seek to minimize the dangers of the course I advocate. Secret tyranny has been permitted to be-

come so strong that it can close churches and starve priests. It can murder with impunity in open daylight, in the presence of witnesses. This thing must be ended. ‘Better we all were in our graves than live in slavery to slaves.’ ”

A settlement of the whole Irish question was never more desirable, from every point of view, and never have the Government been more anxious to do their part toward that end than now. What the Government did in 1914, in placing Home Rule in the Statute Book has never been undone, and the enforcement of this Law needs only another Law dealing with Ulster’s future. This enforcement Law is not within sight, in fact the Prime Minister promised the voters of Great Britain and Ireland, before the last General Election, that Ulster should not be coerced if they returned him to power, and many believe that the large majority he and his people received in Great Britain was due in no small measure to that pledge. Ulster, on the other hand, is quite willing to allow the rest of Ireland to go its own way, so long as Ulster is allowed to remain a part of the British Empire; but the rest of Ireland is not agreeable to this plan. One of the new organizations recently called into existence by Lord Midleton is opposed to this platform of Ulster; and, consequently, there are now two Unionist Societies in Ireland—the Irish Unionist Alliance, heretofore the united Unionist forces, and the Unionist Anti-partition League, the new body. This Southern Unionist Body is in favor of the Unionist policy gen-

erally; but it is opposed to that part which, the Ulster Unionists have declared as agreeable to themselves, the partition of Ireland. It cannot be seen, however, that any way has been made toward uniting the opinion of Ireland by this society within a society.

The platform of these Unionists, from the South chiefly, is nothing more than the platform they held during the sessions of the Irish Convention, although it places on record, through outward organization, its dissent from the Ulster Unionists' willingness to separate from the rest of the Unionists of Ireland.

The other Party recently organized under the leadership of Captain Stephen Gwynn brings forward a proposal which was made in the Irish Convention by the Primate and the Provost of Trinity College, although at that time the plan received little encouragement. In another Chapter (VII) the document stating the general outline of this plan, which embraced a General Parliament for home affairs, and a Parliament for each of the four Provinces for management of its own affairs, may be found. How far this Irish Center Party will succeed is problematical. owing to the great importance of the Sinn Fein and their leaders, the divided Unionists, the aloofness of Ulster, and the unsympathetic Nationalists and their leaders. If the plan should not receive support, it at least will have the honor of pointing the way to another and larger Federalization noted hereafter.

The other society recently created, The Irish Reconstruction Association, has for its objects, "to safe-

guard the interests, economic and social, of the whole of Ireland during the period of Reconstruction, and, incidentally, to oppose partition, on the ground that it will be found to be quite incompatible with any sound scheme of Reconstruction." This society will examine the value of Governmental proposals for Ireland in the period of reconstruction: suggest to the Government methods of meeting the situation as developed from time to time, and advise the farmers and others regarding the industries that might be developed here and there. On the whole, the plan seems quite in keeping with other movements now well established in Ireland, some of which have been referred to already, except that it takes into its scope a political feature, the anti-partition matter. If it could have avoided this feature, it certainly would have received a large and generous support, as there existed a need for a society capable of doing the work that this one has planned.

These recent developments have not changed the writer's opinion as to the best way of solving the difficulties presented in the Irish situation, and he now offers it for what it is worth. In the previous pages he has tried to give an account of Ireland as history has been written, and from information gathered from Irishmen of all walks of life, in order that the reader may form his own conclusions. In what follows the writer gives the methods that he believes would bring the best results in Ireland in the shortest time.

It has been shown that it would hardly be com-

patible with the interests of the Empire to consent to the Sinn Fein program for a complete separation of Ireland from the rest of it; the chief objections being, National Safety, Commercial Relationship, and Ulster Opposition. The Partition Plan has also proved unworkable; as the Nationalists and others have declined to have Ireland separated, nationally. Other plans for solving the difficulty and bringing the people together as a nation have failed for one reason or another, and need not be recorded here.

The educational system of Ireland everyone allows is in need of vast improvement. At present, while it is the best so far, it suits no one, and does not make for a united and patriotic people. To begin with, the National Schools, or Public Schools, are too often old buildings insufficiently heated in winter, with uncomfortable furniture and unsanitary surroundings. The text-books are not the very best to be had, and while the teachers are generally well-equipped for their work, they are usually underpaid. These matters should be attended to without delay. Irish should be taught in the schools; and Irish History, Poetry and Song should be made an important part of the curriculum of every grade. As already stated, Irish is taught in many schools, under special conditions: but it should be made a required subject in all National Schools at least.

The next improvement that should be made in the National Schools, is to make them thoroughly National in every sense. The object of National

Schools should be to educate the children in secondary education and to foster loyalty to the Government under which they live. Patriotism is not generally taught in the National Schools in Ireland, with a result that the children grow up without that love of country which the children of other nations have instilled into them in the Public Schools. Let patriotism be taught, with due reference to the best in the country's achievements at all times. And, in order to guarantee unity among the children of to-day—the men and women of to-morrow—let sectarianism be abolished in the National Schools. Sectarianism militates against unity and nationalism, and, in no country under heaven does it operate more fully to this end than in Ireland. National Schools should not be centers where separation is propagated in the plastic days of child-life. Denominationalism should be cast out of the National Schools in Ireland; and cast out so that it may not return easily. This does not mean that Ireland has an over-abundance of religion, far from it, or that the children should be allowed to grow without careful and sound religious training. It means that the National Schools in Ireland, whatever Public Schools elsewhere may be allowed to teach, should not be allowed to teach any particular kind of religion during school hours, and that no clergyman should instruct any of the children in religious matters during regular school hours. Let the churches and the homes be the places where religious instruction shall be had, and care

should be taken to provide a great deal of such instruction for the children; but let the National Schools be centers of nationality at all times. Children would then grow up, as they do elsewhere, to love their country, and to think of one another as brothers and sisters in that great family—the Nation. The writer is aware of the recent efforts in Ireland to reform primary education; and that there remains great scope for progress in advanced and technical education also. Everyone in Ireland in public life to-day states most emphatically, that the most insurmountable barrier to unity is *sectarian bigotry*. This applies to all the religious bodies in Ireland, and, as the greatest impediment in the way of unity, the difficulty should be overcome as soon as possible by all means.

Another way toward the solution of the Irish Problem, that should be put into operation speedily, is the development of the resources of Ireland. To this end railway facilities should be placed within the reach of the producer, by the extending of present systems, or the building of new ones, and the reducing of passenger and freight rates. If the railways, twenty-eight of them, cannot, from a financial standpoint, undertake this step, then let the Government come to their aid, but let the roads be built quickly and made accessible to the average man. The writer is not competent to advise Government ownership of public utilities, nor will his observation and knowledge warrant his doing so. The Irish railway situa-

tion has received a great deal of time and thought from Mr. William Field, M.P., whose writings on the matter are most interesting; and also by "Vmd," the author of "The Road to Irish Prosperity." Any-one who wishes general information regarding the Railways in Ireland, will be repaid by studying the writings of these gentlemen. Let the program of development mentioned by Lord French, when he visited Belfast last summer (1918) be carried out forthwith. The following extract from one of his speeches is most encouraging: "Rural Ireland has begun to share in this wonderful prosperity. She has supplied Great Britain during the last year with nearly one million head of cattle. The value of food and drink stuffs exported from Ireland to Great Britain has increased in the last four years from thirty millions to fifty-nine millions. The Government of Ireland are doing their utmost to maintain and continue this prosperous state of affairs. They hope by judicious policy to assist further in the development of agricultural production and the industries arising therefrom. Your great shipbuilding industries turn out ships for the transport of the produce of the country, and it seems to us that in this respect the West coast of Ireland can be turned to tremendous account. Natural facilities for the construction and improvement of harbors and the establishment of docks exist in abundance. I much wish the Chief Secretary for Ireland could have been with us today that he might have told you something of the great ideas he is con-

ceiving as to the possibilities of developing the mineral wealth of Ireland. He has already personally visited many places with this object in view, and I know it is his intention to devote a considerable time this autumn to the same great object. Here is peace, prosperity, and plenty for all within our grasp if we will only cease to follow will o' the wisps and settle down to hard and earnest endeavor. (Applause.) Industrial effort and agricultural effort, the great co-partners of success in any country, will then gradually transform this country into the Denmark of the United Kingdom."

Let the Government proceed further and put the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee of the Transport Committee, advising the development of inland transport by canals, the development of harbors, and the creating of a port for accelerating transport between Europe and America, into operation. Let the "self-help" movement in Ireland continue, no matter under what name it shall operate; and let Irishmen take some of the £125,000,000 now in banks and invest it in home industries, development of the land, mines, harbors and roads. No matter if some feel, regarding home effort and home investment, as those who indulged in the following: "Sure," said one, "we will be ruined entirely, if we have to pay for things ourselves without English help." To which the other replied, "Yes, we may be bankrupt, but we'll be bankrupt with our own money, don't you see." These aids are important, and since 1832 at

least they have been suggested as factors that would go a long way toward solving the Irish difficulty.

To meet the present state there remains only one solution, and that is a Federal Government for the British at home, which would be a great relief to the Westminster Parliament, and a decided gain to the Empire as a whole. This would require a Parliament for Ireland, a Parliament for England, a Parliament for Scotland and a Parliament for Wales, to look after domestic affairs; and a Parliament at Westminster of representatives from each of the above Parliaments, in proportion to the people represented. This is practically the system of Government in America, where all are satisfied with it. The different States have independent Governments for local affairs, and the Congress directs the affairs of the Nation collectively. Provision should be made, of course, for guaranteeing the religious freedom and political existence of men of all parties under this plan, which should be fair to all parties and Provinces of the country. What Ireland needs, first, last and all the time, is *Unity* among the Irish themselves; and in no better or quicker way can it be obtained than by the adoption of this proposed solution.

The words of General Sir Hubert P. Gough, in joining the Irish Centre Party, are of great value, and may well be applied to the plan just outlined: "The main object," he said, "that we require to arrive at among Irishmen and in Ireland is the feeling of brotherhood, comradeship, and respect for one an-

other, as from this springs self-respect of all individuals and a proper and legitimate national pride. From these spring again, love of truth, of justice, and of liberty. Many of us Irishmen have learnt what comradeship can exist and what real brotherhood means in this war, in common with others of the British race from all over the world. It is so precious an asset that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it." And again, "there is every possibility that Irishmen can agree if the question is approached in the spirit that befits a great people—in a serious and temperate manner, and with a foundation of brotherhood and conciliation in their hearts."

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During the progress of this work through the printers' hands a new scheme for the government of Ireland has been proposed in the British Parliament.

The plan, as so far outlined, is to establish in Ireland two Legislatures (retaining representation at Westminster) with a third body, to be known as the Council of Ireland, elected by the other two, for the purpose of legislating on matters common to both of them, and further designed, possibly, to fulfil the promoters' hopes of an ultimate union of the two Legislatures.

This is a well meant attempt to satisfy Irish aspirations and promote a feeling of goodwill in Ireland towards the sister Kingdom; but its success can only, at present, be conjectured. Unfortunately, the most likely conjecture is that the scheme will not be accepted cheerfully by both sections of the country, if by either, and, however beneficial it may honestly be in intent, it may yet fail of its purpose if forced unwillingly upon the country.

## APPENDIX

### WAR TIME ADDRESSES

Addresses by the author and distinguished Irishmen, on the War and Ireland's duty, at Schull.—The Palace Theatre, Cork.—Mallow.—Tullamore.—The Mansion House, Dublin.—Ballymena.—Rathfriland.—Sligo and Ballymote.—The Recruiting Council's acknowledgment.



URING the writer's stay in Ireland he had the privilege of addressing many gatherings of people in various parts of the country on the war; and he received on all occasions the sympathy and approval of his auditors. Many citizens helped in organizing meetings, giving their patronage, and contributing vocal and instrumental items to the programs. Extracts from the newspapers regarding some of these meetings are given hereafter; and if the extract of the report of any meeting seems meagre here it is owing to a desire to avoid tautology, as the subject was the same everywhere. The few places and addresses to which reference is now made are among the most important visited, although the interest evinced in all the meetings held was of the highest order. The newspapers were very generous in reporting the various addresses, and in almost all cases gave a correct account of the proceedings.

In Schull, County Cork, where the first lecture was delivered, the reasons why America had not entered the war in the beginning, and the reasons why she eventually had entered, were stated, as well as the gigantic efforts that were then being put forward by the whole American people to insure victory. Here, as in other places, a collection was taken for Red Cross work or some object connected with the war. The Skibbereen *Eagle*, among other things, reported as follows:

*“America’s Part in the War*

The Rev. Thos. C. Johnson, of Brooklyn, New York, who has just arrived in Ireland, delivered a most interesting lecture at Schull, on Monday night, on the part which the United States of America have taken, are taking, and are going to take in the war. The lecture was profusely illustrated by magnificent lantern slides, and the Schoolroom (No. 3) in which it was delivered, was thronged by a fashionable and most appreciative audience.

The Rev. G. B. Fairbrother, M.A., Rector, presided, and in introducing the lecturer, said he welcomed him as a Corkman, and also as a citizen of their great Ally, the United States (applause). He looked forward with great interest to what he would say to them that night. For three years, before America entered the war, their Allies on the Western front withstood all the shock of the tremendous fight.

The United States for that period did not see fit to enter into the war, for reasons good to themselves. They had now, however, come in and come in enthusiastically—with all their ardor and all their strength and all their hope and courage—and they were doing a great deal, and their troops were pouring by hundreds of thousands to the Western front; and with the aid of the great Republic of the West, victory would be achieved. (Loud applause.) On the part of the audience he welcomed Rev. T. C. Johnson that night, and he was sure they would all go away instructed and pleased and thankful. (Renewed applause.)

### *The Lecture*

The Rev. T. C. Johnson, who was enthusiastically received, thanked the audience for their cordial reception, and said he was greatly touched by it, and felt more and more at home, as he was breathing his native air. The question of the war was an important one of course. As soon as America entered the war conscription was ordered, and billions of dollars were voted for war purposes in America and in the Allied countries. Not one man dare, in the streets of New York today, stand up and say that America had not done the right thing in entering the war. It was a tremendous thing for one hundred and twenty million people to be heart and soul for justice, and that was what all America was for (applause). The States were giving men and money to help the Allies

and had now nearly a million men in France and England (applause), and every month one-third of a million recruits were being called up for training. He himself had three nephews and a brother serving in the British Navy and Army. They could never after this war separate the French, English, and American nations (applause). The States had been sending men across the Atlantic for months and months past, and they all awaited the issue, confident that it would bring victory to the Allies, smash the German military machine, and secure the future peace of the world. (Loud applause.)

On the motion of the Rev. J. Boardman, M.A., seconded by Mr. R. Wolfe (Provincial Bank), a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. Lecturer, who suitably replied, and said he should be happy to show the slides anywhere there was a demand for them. (Applause.)"

In Cork a lecture was given in the Palace Theatre, which had been kindly given for the purpose by Sir Alfred Dobbin, under the patronage of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, General and Mrs. Doran and others, in aid of the *widows and orphans of the Cork sailors* who had lost their lives through the sinking of their ships by German submarines. The lecture was well attended; and the Band of the 3d Lincolnshire Regiment contributed several items during intervals. The following account appeared in the *Cork Constitution*, July 22d:

## “WHAT AMERICA IS DOING IN THE WAR

### *Lecture at the Palace Theatre*

At the Palace Theatre on Saturday afternoon an interesting lecture, entitled ‘What America Is Doing in the Great War,’ was delivered by Rev. T. C. Johnson, Brooklyn, New York. The lecture was in aid of the Cork Sailors’ Widows and Orphans Fund, and the house was fairly well filled. The lecture was illustrated by films and slides, and the band of the 3d Lincolnshire Regiment was present and rendered some very pleasing American and other airs. The Lord Mayor was to have presided, but owing to an unavoidable engagement was unable to attend.

The lecturer said he was very happy to be able to assist the fund got up for the widows and orphans of the Cork sailors, who had sacrificed their lives in order to go on with their duty and their work, and had risked the dangers of the deep, so terrible at the present day, for the good of others. He had, he said, been asked many times during the past few weeks why America did not come into the war long ago, and he wished to refer to that point. He had had the opportunity of talking with many prominent statesmen in America, and had gleaned from them the chief reasons why she decided to stand by so long. First, she wished to act in accordance with her old policy as laid down by the Monroe Doctrine—to remain herself free, and not interfere in European politics. Secondly, America did not come in quickly because

she had a great foreign population, and had at least half a million German voters. Thirdly, America was doing a great deal of good for the Allies in the way of sending food and so on. Fourthly, America was not ready—she had few soldiers, little munitions, and a small Navy. Eventually, America had to come into the war. They had read with horror in America of what the Germans had done in France and Belgium and in the air raids on England; but when these things were brought to America's door the whole of the States rose to prosecute that righteous war. Once started, America made mighty strides in placing herself on a war footing. The lecturer then went on to describe the enthusiastic war scenes in the States he had witnessed. He saw the first recruits passing through New York, and they were an inspiring sight, including as they did people of all nations, even Africans, Chinese and Japanese; and since that time America had sent over about 1,300,000 men—(applause)—and they were simply an earnest of what America was going to do. The places of these men when they moved out of camp were taken by others, and by the end of this month they would have in Europe close on two million men. (Applause.) America had undertaken the task of building ships as well as furnishing men and money. During the last six months . . . ships were built in America, and that was the beginning of things. They would build a bridge of ships between Europe and America, so that by placing them end to end they

could almost walk from New York to Cork—(applause)—and they had, he added, . . . 'ships at the present time in these waters. In the town in which he lived, there was a regiment called the 'Irish Sixty-ninth,' a regiment which had won fame in the American Civil War, and that fine fighting Irish regiment was one of the first to be sent over; it had been decimated, the men paying the price with their lives. He hoped that such Irishmen would still be found to render good service to their country. Concluding, he encouraged all to persevere in their work until victory was achieved. (Applause.)

A number of films and slides were then shown depicting war scenes in America, the Americans in France, and the work of the American Navy, which the audience followed with interest, and applause greeted the reading of an inspiring letter written by ex-President Roosevelt to the lecturer. At the conclusion the band played the National Anthems of the various Allies."

Two lectures were given in Mallow before gatherings that taxed the capacity of the hall; and a goodly amount was realized toward aiding the Fund for the Relief of the Cork Widows and Orphans and also the Red Cross work.

The success of these meetings was chiefly due to the labors of Mrs. Richard E. Longfield, who had made all the arrangements, including the designing and putting out of very attractive advertising posters. Mr. Richard E. Longfield, as Chairman, in introduc-

ing the speaker made an eloquent and persuasive plea to the young men of his town to avail themselves of the present opportunity to help their country by joining voluntarily in the great effort to secure the peace of the world; and he spoke in flattering terms of the part America was taking in the war. Major Lewis Longfield, son of Mr. and Mrs. Longfield above mentioned, and author of "The Sacrament," who was home on a few days' leave from France, sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," at each lecture, which was greatly appreciated by all present. Major Longfield's son, a Lieutenant of the Royal Irish Horse Regiment, and Colonel G. Longfield, a brother of the Chairman, were present, as were several other distinguished persons of County Cork.

The lecturer spoke of America's earnest desire to bring the war to a close long before it became evident that she herself would have to take any active part in it, and of the diplomatic notes sent by the President to Germany in the hope of restricting the war zone and the unwarranted submarine warfare. He stated that a great many believed that Germany's chief object in sending her submarines to American ports, while she was ostensibly at peace with America, was not primarily to send gold and securities and take back copper and rubber, but to show America in this object lesson what she could do if America entered the war. The long suffering and forbearance of America was pointed out, for she did

not enter the war until thousands of her citizens had been murdered on the high seas and several of her ships had been sunk, and she, as a nation, had been ordered to send only one ship, which should be painted in colors and stripes to suit the eyes of submarine captains, each week to the port of Falmouth. One ship, in the same kind of paint and stripes, would be allowed to sail from Falmouth for a port in America.

The President and people of America refused to submit to this dictation, and remembering their glorious past and the honorable traditions committed to their trust by their forefathers, who had pledged to one another "their lives, liberty and sacred honor," sent the German Ambassador and his corps of assistants out of the country and declared that a state of war existed between Germany and the United States. The loyalty of the people and their desire to help to bring the offenders to a right state knew no bounds. Money was voted by billions, both to the Allied Nations and America for war purposes. Citizens offered their services for all kinds of work, and Red Cross aid became a fetish. Conscription was ordered for the young manhood, and a law was passed restoring to citizenship all who had joined Allied armies during the years of America's neutrality—as by joining to fight against nations with whom their country was legally at peace they had forfeited their American citizenship. America was sending her men to France by thousands weekly, and soon two

million soldiers and sailors would be representing America in the great war.

An appeal was made to the men of Mallow and surrounding districts to maintain the traditions of the Irish, and to support their brethren who had gone out from Mallow, and from all parts of the British Empire, in the task to which they had consecrated all that they possessed. They were also reminded of the devotion and courage of their townsman, Captain Charles Longfield, son of Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Longfield, who had been killed in action a short time before close to Jerusalem, and who had been mentioned in despatches for the "fearless leading of his Company."

The chairman thanked the lecturer, who had come from one of the greatest bases of supplies and enthusiasm, for his addresses, after which "God Save the King" was sung.

A lecture was given at Tullamore, where the lecturer's aunt, Mrs. Costello, and her family, the Rector of Saint Catherine's, the Rev. R. S. Craig, M.A., Mr. R. H. Poole, and several others did a great deal toward organizing and making it known. The following account appeared in the daily press:

#### "IRELAND'S ATTITUDE THE TEST OF AMERICA'S FRIENDSHIP

The Rev. Thomas Costello Johnson, of Brooklyn, New York, gave an illustrated lecture in the Gym-

nasium, Tullamore, on Wednesday evening, 22d May, on 'What America Is Doing in the War.' After dealing with the unpreparedness of the world for the great German onslaught, he showed the thorough preparations Germany had made and her thorough-going methods of destroying life, religion and morals. In the course of his lecture he stated that about 1,000,000 soldiers had already been sent to France from America, ten billion dollars had been given; food and munitions, Red Cross funds, and men and women for the work, and that 120 million people were pledged to win the war in America, even should it cost all their gold and all their lives. He lauded President Wilson, whose name must forever stand with the names of Washington and Lincoln. At the close he read the letter sent to him recently by ex-President Roosevelt.

There was a good audience, and the lecturer's account of the whole-hearted way in which the great Republic of the West has entered into the struggle was heartily appreciated and elicited vigorous applause. The lecture was illustrated by a large number of excellent slides, and Mr. R. H. Poole kindly operated the lantern with his accustomed skill. A collection was made in support of the local Red Cross funds."

In Dublin, through the kindness of the officers in charge of the Inter-Allied Exhibition for the After Care of Disabled Soldiers, to whom the Lord Mayor

had kindly lent the large building adjoining his residence, a lecture was given. The following is taken from *The Daily Express*, August 15, 1918:

“AMERICA AND THE WAR  
INSPIRING LECTURE BY A BROOKLYN CLERGYMAN

The great Inter-Allied Exhibition, at the Mansion House, demonstrating the steps being taken for the after-care of disabled men, is attracting considerable interest, and the Mansion House was crowded throughout yesterday, large numbers of enthusiastic visitors voicing their appreciation of the remarkable manner in which the Exhibition is being conducted, and of the many wonderful things to be seen there.

A lecture was delivered in the Cinema Theatre in the evening by the Rev. T. C. Johnson, Brooklyn, U. S. A., entitled ‘What America is Doing in the Great War.’

The Rev. T. C. Johnson informed a press representative that the motives impelling him to lecture upon the subject of America and the war were purely patriotic, and were not inspired by anybody.

The entry of a number of American sailors to the lecture hall was the signal for an outburst of applause, which the Americans smilingly acknowledged.

The lecturer stated that there were innumerable instances of the almost unbearable insults offered by Germany to the United States, from the beginning of the war, but that country determined to bear with

them as long as possible, in order to observe, as far as possible, the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, to remain herself free and to avoid any interference in European politics. He well remembered the coming of Mr. A. J. Balfour to the United States on his mission from Great Britain; he remembered the French mission, and, most touching of all, he remembered the mission from the stricken Belgian people. It touched the hearts of the Americans and they found it increasingly difficult at the time to refrain from entering the war. They were unprepared when 1914 arrived; they had few ships, little ammunition, and practically no organization. But they had the spirit, and knew that Belgium had been almost bled to death, and that France was being overrun by the German soldiery—brave France, with her temples ruined and her shrines desecrated. War was brought to their very door; and submarines were sent to their coasts. It was no greed for gain that drove them into the war, for they had half the world's gold in their coffers. They had been doing all in their power to help the cause of the Allies from the beginning, and had sent huge supplies of food. They had sent their Red Cross, their bandages, their women, their men, and their money (applause). At last America did join in the struggle; and he recalled with feelings of patriotic fervor a day when he stood upon Fifth Avenue and saw the first recruits swing past. And an inspiring picture they made, including, as they did, in their ranks soldiers of all nations. He crossed the

Atlantic in the distinguished company of the Archbishop of York who delivered a stirring sermon, in the course of which he said to them: 'Do not forget that those in France have been fighting for four years. They are tired.' They would not forget it; and they would have the world know that America was not in the war to win it, but she was there to help to win it. In conclusion, the lecturer said that the American people were shocked at the attitude of Irishmen towards the war. There were 'Irish' divisions in France being filled by men who were not Irish. If the Irish people wanted to recover their fallen prestige, and have the American nation take a genial, kindly interest in them, they would come forward and take their share in the struggle. This was a time when it behooved all Irishmen to throw their whole weight into the fight.

Some interesting films were screened showing war-time scenes in America, the American soldiers in France, and in the course of their thorough training."

The people of Ballymena and surrounding districts turned out to attend the recruiting meeting held there five thousand strong. It was the largest meeting that the writer had the honor of addressing while in Ireland, and the sentiments voiced by those on the platform were unmistakably in favor of conscription for all Ireland. The following is from the Ballymena *Observer*, August 23, 1918:

“The Chairman (Mr. H. Lancashire, J.P.), who was accorded an enthusiastic reception, said he could assure them it was a pleasing sight for him to look on at that vast audience. It was a great encouragement for the officers who had come there to put before them the appeal for voluntary recruits. The first speaker that he wished to call upon was Colonel Sir John Leslie, an officer who had commanded the 12th Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, many of their own men from Ballymena having served under him at the camp out in Finner. Most of them might have private opinions about voluntary enlistment and conscription, but on every occasion that their King and country called on them, Ballymena rallied to the call. He felt quite confident that when it was made known, the same patriotic spirit would be shown that had been shown in the past by the men from Ballymena. They had a reputation to keep up, and he was quite sure that when they considered the call that was being made to them, they would never allow the reputation that Ballymena had had in the past to be lowered one iota. (Applause.) He would not detain them very much longer. They had distinguished and gallant men to address them, who would explain the whole scheme much better than he probably could, and without further delay he would call upon Colonel Sir John Leslie, who had been appointed by the Irish Recruiting Council to represent Ulster. (Applause.)

Colonel Sir John Leslie, who was well received, said he would begin by introducing himself as an out-

and-out conscriptionist. ('Hear, hear.') What had Ireland done that she should not have been asked before to take her place side by side with the gallant sons of the rest of the United Kingdom? However, in place of conscription they had got what was called voluntary enlistment, and as in favor of voluntary enlistment they had got the opinion of that gallant soldier, Lord French—the most distinguished man of the day—and his opinion was that one volunteer was worth three conscripts. What he would like to see would be the joining of such a number of volunteers that there would be no question of conscription at all. (Applause.) Their area, which was organized by his friend, Major Montgomery, was asked for 8,500 men. Surely an area containing such a county as County Antrim, and containing such a city as Belfast, and important towns like gallant Ballymena, should be capable of producing that number of men, and probably a great many more. The great war for freedom was not yet over, and not won by a long way. The Allies had to bring every man into the field the nations could produce to win the war as it should be won, and what he called winning the war as it should be won was to be able to cross the Rhine—(applause)—marching into Germany and dictating the terms of peace in Berlin. (Applause.) He, therefore, urged that that offer of voluntary enlistment should be eagerly accepted, to show that Ulster felt that she should have been asked for her men years ago, and that not only could they find the quota,

but thousands besides. He asked them to think of the awful possibilities of them not winning the war, and to have to accept disadvantageous terms of peace. He appealed to every young man in the town or the country that could be spared from what they called war work—that was any work that promoted the war being carried on—that those young men should take their place in the ranks and help to avert any such misfortune as he had alluded to. Think of their own Ulster Division, and of the awful gaps in its ranks that had to be filled up by Englishmen, and, of the Irish divisions, which continued to be only Irish in name. As colonel of a reserve battalion, he had seen the gallant men returning to their reserves, to be restored to health and vigor, and he had seen them returning to the front for the third or fourth time without a murmur, their bodies covered with honorable scars. What were those men going to say when the war was over to those who stayed at home. Their harvest was good, and there would be middle-aged men enough left to save it, and they had their wives and daughters, who would help them. When the division embarked for France remember that they cheered those men and that they would now have to take their place at their side. As for those who were left in towns, let him advise them to leave their counters and leave off doing the work of women and fight for their women instead. (Applause.) Let women do women's work, and let them continue bravely to do the work of men, the admiration of the whole

world. Think of what the great armies in the field were saying of their stubborn Island that seemed to stand aloof. Think of the Canadians, Australians, and the mighty host of Americans who would eliminate their name from the book of friendship as a nation worse than neutral. The good work of recruiting was begun, and was doing well in other provinces as well as Ulster, but let it never be said that Ulster did not continue to give a glorious and successful lead to the other provinces of Ireland. (Applause.)

Mr. W. R. Young, Galgorm Castle, who was well received, said the first thing he ought to do would be to inform the recruiting deputation who had come there to Ballymena, that Ballymena had given to the voluntary enlistment system as large a number to the British Army as any other district of the same size and population in the United Kingdom, therefore he said in agreement with his friend Colonel Sir John Leslie, Mr. Ronald McNeill and Colonel McCalmont, that if conscription was necessary in England it was equally necessary here. They were in the proud position of knowing and realizing that in every great effort, in every glorious fight that had been performed by the British Army since the opening of the war that the men from Ballymena had had their share. The men from Ballymena and district had been in the Mons retreat, in the Neuville attack, on the 1st July, on the Somme, and also at Messines Ridge, and on every other great occasion on the French front, to say nothing of the men from other ranks who were serv-

ing in Mesopotamia and in Russia and other fronts in this great war. He said at the same time that they had a great duty to perform. If they could not get the Government to give them conscription, they had got to find them men under the voluntary system. What a grand example they had in the Stars and Stripes, representing the United States, who were the latest among their Allies, but they realized what it meant in this great war. The press the previous day told them that by the end of next year the comrades of Rev. T. C. Johnson beside him would have found thirteen millions of men for the American Army, and millions of them would have found their way to France. Ireland and the Allies were included in the same partnership as America, and he said to Ireland, as he said to Ulster: let them remember that they were partners not only of Great Britain and France and Italy and parts of Russia, and they were bound as partners to find their proper quota of men, whether by conscription or under the voluntary system. He said to them that day, for God's sake remember the reputation of Ulster. He said to the young men under thirty, for God's sake remember that they are Ulstermen, remember that they shared in the partnership in the great war.

Rev. Thomas C. Johnson, of Brooklyn, New York, also delivered an eloquent speech, in which he told of the glorious successes won by the Irish, who were the first to cross the Ourcq River, as they were going on to Berlin. In America he said they could not

keep the Irish out of the war, and he appealed to the young men present to do their part to assist them in this great struggle for liberty and humanity. (Cheers.)”

Others who addressed the meeting were: Colonel Robertson, V.C.; Colonel McCalmont, M.P.; Mr. Donald McNeill, M.P.; Major Drage, Lieut. Lancashire, Sergeant Gilmur, a local man who had won the D.C.M. at St. Quentin, and Major Montgomery.

A very pleasing feature of the lecturer’s tour was a visit to Rathfriland, where his sister, Mrs. M. Veage, who had given three sons to the Navy and Army during the war—the eldest of whom gave his life at the Dardanelles—resides. The Rev. T. B. Brown and several men of the town helped in arranging for the meeting, which was held in a hall given by a patriotic citizen for that purpose.

In the course of the lecture, which narrated America’s co-operation and her determination to see the war brought to a victorious finish, the lecturer paid tribute to what Ulster had done in the beginning of the war and of her desire and ability to contribute steadily of her best “to make the world safe for democracy.” A collection was made for the work of the local Red Cross.

At the request of Major Murphy a second lecture was given in Sligo, of which the following account appeared in *The Sligo Independent*, September 21, 1918:

## “WHAT AMERICA IS DOING IN THE GREAT WAR

ELOQUENT LECTURE BY REV. T. C. JOHNSON, OF BROOKLYN

*Interesting Scenes of Naval and Military Preparations.—Large and Enthusiastic Audience.—The Position of Ireland.—Strong Appeals to the Young Manhood.*

It is wonderful how an Irish audience can be swayed from one side to the other. True, the Irish race is the most impulsive in the world. These facts were very strikingly borne out in the Town Hall, Sligo, on Tuesday evening last, when a very interesting lecture entitled ‘What America is Doing in the Great War,’ was delivered by the Rev. T. C. Johnson, Rector of the Parish of the Holy Spirit, Brooklyn, U. S. A. On the occasion of a recruiting meeting the previous week there was a considerable amount of hostility by Sinn Feiners, and the speakers’ appeals on behalf of the cause of the Allies were drowned in interruptions. What a contrast was Tuesday night! Notwithstanding the fact that the Town Hall was filled to overflowing, there was not a single interruption, though there must have been many people present whose sympathies were with the Sinn Feiners. This was largely due perhaps to the atmosphere in which they dwell, but when taken away from their environment they become true and patriotic citizens. The lecture

certainly gave a great stimulus to patriotism, while the magnificent scenes of the tremendous energies displayed by America in the interests of the Allies were so real and far-reaching that even an out-and-out Sinn Feiner must have felt that he was on the wrong side and against the cause of justice and right. Mr. W. R. Fenton, D.L., made an admirable chairman, and took the opportunity of putting before the young men in a very clear and impressive manner their clear path of duty in the war, while the Rev. T. C. Johnson sent it home to the entire audience by his eloquence and the forcible way in which he related why America was in the fight, and the great and increasing efforts she was putting forth to bring victory to the Allies. Throughout his lecture, Rev. T. C. Johnson held the rapt attention of the audience, who proved by their hearty plaudits at intervals their very high appreciation of the lecture. Thanks to the efforts made by Major Murphy and the other officers and gentlemen attached to the recruiting headquarters in Sligo, the arrangements for the lecture were admirable, and the large audience were immensely pleased and enjoyed the proceedings to the fullest extent.

The chairman, who had an enthusiastic ovation, said in the course of an excellent speech that he had been paid a great compliment by being asked to preside that evening, and it afforded him a great deal of pleasure indeed to be the medium of introducing to them the Rev. T. C. Johnson, of Brooklyn, New York, (Applause.) He was quite certain that as an Irish-

man from Cork, as a citizen of America, they would give the Rev. T. C. Johnson a warm welcome and enthusiastic reception. (Applause.) Rev. T. C. Johnson did not come over for the express purpose of the war, but while in Ireland he volunteered to help the great cause which they all had at heart. (Applause.) In connection with the lecture, he wished to take the opportunity of adding a few other remarks. He (Mr. Fenton) was very pleased to see such a large and splendid audience, and he was also delighted to see such a very orderly audience, because really they were going to have a treat, and he would be very sorry indeed if it was spoiled. At the same time, he wished to make some reference to recruiting, because the dominant issue in most of their minds at the present moment was to rally the young men of Ireland to the standard of the Allies, which was for justice and right. (Applause.) In that respect he wanted to address a few words to young Ireland and old Ireland. Amongst the latter there were many wise heads, and they could give good advice to the younger generation. To young Irishmen he wished to make a strong appeal, and it was to ask them to come down from the clouds into the saner atmosphere of the world war which they found going on around them. He wanted to remind them that they had a duty to perform, not only to their own kith and kin at home and in America, but to the noble and brave Irishmen who had fallen. To them in particular they had a duty to perform, and he trusted they would not forget that

obligation. Ireland had done remarkably well. She had sent out thousands of her sons to die for them all, and they went out nobly and faced fearful odds on the express understanding that those whom they left behind would send out others to take their places. Many of their sons had fallen in the battle, and surely the young Irishmen at home could never forget that. Now, he wished to say a few words to the older generation. He limited himself to old friends and neighbors in his own native county of Sligo. It was by them the young men should be guided. He wished to impress upon them that in the course of four years of war not a single German bomb or gun had been heard in their country owing to the protection given to them by the greatest Empire in the world—the British Empire—to which we all had the honor and privilege to belong. (Applause.) Through the protection of that great Empire not a single stone in an Irish cottage had been disturbed, whilst France and Belgium, and many of the little, defenseless and peaceable countries of Europe had been flattened out and drenched with blood. He appealed to the older generation to try and put some sense into the heads of the younger. They had the advantage of being members of the greatest Empire this world had ever seen, under whose protection they had lived in peace and prosperity for all those four years of this dreadful war that was destroying the greater part of the Continent of Europe. But if they had their rights of citizenship, and their security from destruction

through the Armies and Navies of the Empire and her Allies, they had also their obligations, and one of those obligations—the most important at the present time—was to help recruiting. He appealed to the older generation to take off their cloak of complacency and apathy towards the war. He did not think there was a case in the world's history in which any person, or body of persons, who deliberately refused to perform the solemn obligations and duties cast upon them could escape paying the penalty of their default. As sure as the tide ebbed and flowed, as certain as night followed day, if those people refused to come out into the open and take their places on the recruiting platforms of the country, there would be a corresponding repercussion in proportion, *i.e.*, in a hundredfold proportion to the strength of the obligation and duty which had been so deliberately neglected. Were we going to leave a blot on the fair fame of Ireland, heretofore great chivalrous Ireland, on the escutcheon of their great fighting race, their ancient glory, by failing through their neglect to do their duty at the present time? If they did it would be a tragedy for which their country would suffer in the future for refusing to take her place amongst the great democracies of the world. Did they not hear the voice of their own kith and kin calling to them to come and take the places of those who had given their all—their lives—that their old men, their women and their little children might live in peace and happiness? He appealed to their better senses to come

and fill up the gaps of their Irish regiments, so that they themselves, and Ireland and Ireland's sons might still go down to posterity with imperishable fame. (Applause.)

Rev. T. C. Johnson had a very warm welcome on coming forward to deliver his lecture. At the outset he said it was a great pleasure to be in Sligo and stand on the platform of their Town Hall in support of the great cause which all good Irishmen had at heart. They were all very anxious that Ireland in that war should maintain her dignity and retain her splendid tradition by supporting the great recruiting campaign going on in Ireland at the present moment. At a previous meeting in Sligo he received such a kind reception that he had a great desire to come back again. He therefore wished to return his sincere thanks for their cordial reception. He here mentioned how Germany had tried to cause trouble in Japan and Mexico. America, though deeply stirred, delayed coming into the war, but many Americans could not curb their feelings, and only recently rights of citizenship had been restored to those who had forfeited them by joining Canadian, British and French units. America was not in the war for money or aggrandisement, but in the cause of humanity, right, and self-defense. America was sending men at the rate of 11,000 per day. Victory must be proclaimed in Berlin. (Applause.) Proceeding, the lecturer referred to the relationship which Ireland had with America, and mentioned the part

which Irishmen had taken in the wars of the United States. He quoted the following from a newspaper published that day: 'Monsignor Lavelle, Cardinal Farley's chief lieutenant, writing of the cheering news from the front, says—"Our greatest delight is the news regarding the heroism of the 165th Regiment—formerly the old Irish 69th. It is splendid to see our highest hopes realized. They are the result of American resource and Irish valor. There cannot be a finer combination in the world. Amongst others, Private M. J. Hughes, son of Mrs. B. M. Hughes, of County Kerry, was cited for bravery, having fought 6 Germans single-handed, killing 3, tricking the others, and getting away slightly wounded.'" (Loud applause.) Continuing, the lecturer stated that the world at present needed more of that spirit and valor, and that the whole American people were anxiously looking to Ireland to do her full part in the war. Ireland was expected to do great things, because of her wonderful tradition, and her desire to be reckoned among the worthy peoples and nations in those things that concern righteousness, justice and peace. He told of the brave deeds of a young Irishman, W. J. Bellatty, who, before the war, lived in his parish in Brooklyn. This young man volunteered for service in the American Navy, and when his ship, the *Alcedo*, was torpedoed in foreign waters, saved the ship's papers, and then rescued a fellow sailor who was drowning, for which he was promoted by the Secretary of the Navy; and he pleaded that Sligo should

send such men of courage and consecration into the Army and Navy without delay. The lecturer then told of receiving a comic drawing from a friend in America depicting the coming Peace Conference, in which all the warring Allied nations were represented, and at which Uncle Sam presided. Outside the door—as a foolish virgin—Erin was represented bewailing her inactivity in the war, and pleading to be admitted, but without avail. That really represented what must take place if Ireland did not do her part and contribute largely and generously to the fighting force of the world while opportunity offered. The world looked to Ireland not for a ten or an eleven per cent. of the small quota of fighting men now asked without compulsion, but for the full complement—and more—at least one hundred thousand able and worthy men. The lecturer here quoted from a letter he had recently received from ex-President Roosevelt—‘Say to the people of Ireland that the test of our friendship in the future for any nation should be that nation’s attitude in this war.’ The lecturer then pointed out the aims of America in the war, as stated in President Wilson’s reply to the Pope, August 27, 1917, which are as follows: ‘(1) Recognition of the rights and liberties of nations; (2) principle, the government for the governed; (3) reparation for wrongs done and adequate safeguards; (4) no indemnities except as payment for manifest wrongs—a genuine co-operation of nations. No material profit. No aggrandisement of any kind.

America was fighting for no advantage or selfish object; she was fighting for the liberation of people from the aggression of autocratic force.'

### *Results Already Attained in America*

She had repaired to God in humble supplication; she had been reunited, the old wounds had disappeared; and she was now one in hope, consecration and service. She had been united with the world at large in that common solidarity—each seeking his neighbor's good, joined in common brotherhood. She had risen above material objects, and by sacrifice had found the greatest thing in the world. America had found her soul, and with God's aid was saving it. (Loud applause.)

At the conclusion of the lecture a very interesting and instructive cinematograph exhibition was given.

The proceedings concluded with the singing of 'God Save the King.' "

The writer greatly appreciated the privilege of addressing the people of Ireland on the war, and of assisting the Irish Recruiting Council in the great patriotic work which they had in hand during his stay in Ireland. Before leaving London for America, Colonel T. W. Sellar, in the absence of Lieutenant Cox, R.G.A., Secretary of the Irish Recruiting Council, sent him the following letter, which he values highly:

“IRISH RECRUITING COUNCIL,  
25 Kildare Street, Dublin,  
4th November, 1918.

The Council on the occasion of the Rev. T. C. Johnson’s departure from Ireland, desire to place on record their thanks for, and appreciation of, his valuable assistance in addressing recruiting meetings, and in impressing upon Irish audiences, the interest with which America is watching Ireland’s action during the war.

A. M. SULLIVAN,  
H. McLAUGHLIN,  
JOHN LESLIE,  
STEPHEN GWYNN, *Capt.*,  
MAURICE DOCKRELL.”













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